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BOSTON MONDAY LECTURES

CURRENT RELIGIOUS
PERILS

WITH PRELUDES AND OTHER ADDRESSES

ON

LEADING REFORMS

AND A SYMPOSIUM ON

VITAL AND PROGRESSIVE ORTHODOXY

By JOSEPH COOK

Obsta principiis



BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY

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1888

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To
PROFESSOR EDWARDS A. PARK, D.D., LL.D.,
FOREMOST OF LIVING AMERICAN THEOLOGIANS,
IN REVERENCE FOR THOSE INSTRUCTIONS AND INSPIRATIONS,
CONTINUED NOW THROUGH MORE THAN HALF A CENTURY,
WHICH HAVE CONFIRMED
MANY HUNDREDS OF PUPILS OF TWO GENERATIONS,
AND AMONG THEM THE AUTHOR,
IN ZEALOUS LOYALTY TO THAT VITAL ORTHODOXY
WHICH IS THE ONLY HOPE
OF THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD.

Your Goethe now seems to me like a granite promontory high and serene, stretching far out into Chaos, but not through it.

THOMAS CARLYLE to ECKERMANN, 1834.

Creeds are discredited, religion is proclaimed to be in danger, the pious quake, the world laughs. Nevertheless, *the prince of this world is judged* (John xvi. 11); the victory of Jesus is won and sure. Conscience and self-renouncement, the method and the secret of Jesus, are set up as a leaven in the world, never more to cease working until the world is leavened

MATTHEW ARNOLD, *God and the Bible*, p. 391

The worst kind of religion is no religion at all. Those who are living in ease and luxury, and indulging themselves in the amusement of going without religion, may be thankful that they live in lands where the Gospel they neglect has tamed the beastliness and ferocity of men, who, but for Christianity, might long ago have eaten their carcasses like the South Sea Islanders, or cut off their heads and tanned their hides like the monsters of the French Revolution. When the microscopic search of skepticism, which has hunted the heavens and sounded the seas to disprove the existence of a Creator, has turned its attention to human society, and has found a place on this planet, ten miles square, where a decent man can live in decency, comfort, and security, supporting and educating his children unspoiled and unpolluted — a place where age is revered, infancy protected, manhood respected, womanhood honored, and human life held in due regard, — when skeptics can find such a place on this globe, where the Gospel of Christ has not gone and cleared the way, and laid the foundations, and made decency and security possible, it will then be in order for the skeptical litterati to move thither and there ventilate their false theories.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

Only love to the living God, only the longing to be approved, not by our own hearts, but by Him — this, and this only is the basis of Christian morality, and science never will find one that is plainer, nor life one that is surer.

HERMANN LOTZE, *Microcosmus*, Book VIII, Chap. IV.

INTRODUCTION.

TEN volumes of the Boston Monday Lectures, which were begun in 1875, have already been published. This eleventh volume represents the results of the twelfth year, during which a great audience, at the busiest hour of the busiest day of the week, has assembled in Boston to listen to discussions of the most vital current topics in the fields of Religion, Philosophy, and Reform.

The contents of this book, as was required by the exigencies of an assembly containing large numbers of ministers, students, teachers, and other educated men, will be found to possess unity in variety.

The object of the Boston Monday Lectures is to present the results of the freshest German, English, and American scholarship on the more important and difficult questions concerning the relations of Religion and Science. As will be seen by comparing the lectures with the addresses in this volume, the former differ from the latter not only in matter but in manner, as they are intended to suggest thought without elaborating it, and to give as compactly as possible the conclusions rather than the processes of investigation. To secure a wider circulation in print than can be accorded to long documents, the lectures are made brief; but they are connected, and should be read, as they are arranged in the table of contents, as parts of a single continuous discourse.

The Symposium of letters from eminent preachers and professors (pp. 210-246) belongs to the central topic of CURRENT RELIGIOUS PERILS, as do also several of the documents in the appendix. These letters and the accompanying papers contain,

when taken in their chronological order, an outline of the progress of the discussions between Vital Orthodoxy on the one hand and the so-called New Theology on the other, from 1883, the date of a proposed new creed for Congregationalists, up to 1887, when that creed was effectually discredited by the memorable vote of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at its meeting at Springfield, Massachusetts (see p. 382), repudiating as divisive and perverse the unscriptural hypothesis of future probation.

The Preludes and replies to Questions in this volume of Monday Lectures, touch, as usual, the most urgent issues of leading reforms. They are supplemented by several special addresses given outside of the Monday Lectureship, on similar topics.

Addresses will be found in this volume (see pp. 414, 423, 131) on the death of Wendell Phillips, John B. Gough as Orator and Reformer, and Henry Ward Beecher as Preacher and Reformer.

The Monday Lectures and Preludes have been reported for several years by the accomplished Boston stenographer, Mr. J. P. Bacon.

The latest report of the Executive Committee in charge of the Boston Monday Lectureship, with the names of the coöperating Honorary Committee, may be seen on pp. 247, 248.

This volume includes eight original Boston Hymns which were a new feature in the Lectureship in 1887.

28 BEACON STREET, BOSTON,
January 25, 1888.

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I.

WASTE OF OPPORTUNITY THE CHIEF
PERIL OF THE CHURCH.

WITH A PRELUDE ON

LEADERS AND MISLEADERS IN HIGH PLACES.

THE 187TH LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP,
DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE, FEB. 7, 1887.

BOSTON HYMN.

THE CREED OF CERTAINTIES.

SUNG AT TREMONT TEMPLE, FEB. 7, 1887, AT THE OPENING OF THE
TWELFTH YEAR OF THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP.

"Before the Throne there was a sea of glass like unto crystal." — *Rev. iv. 6.*

1. On the glassy sea of green,
Flooded with God's noontide keen
Can there be for sin a screen?
Omnipresence none can flee:
Flight from God to God must be.
2. Evermore with God must I
Dwell in strife or harmony;
Evermore my changeless past
Gaze on me from out the vast;
Thou art first, and Thou art last.
3. Oh! if now before Thy face,
In Thy brightness I had place,
With the past unscreened from me,
Thou from whom I cannot flee,
How could peace abide with me?
4. Since from Thee in heart estranged,
If this instant, I, unchanged,
Were in heaven, Thou, God, dost know,
Highest heaven were deepest woe,
I and it are variant so.
5. God, O God! Thy likeness give;
In and of Thee let me live;
God, O God! for sin atone,
By Thy love awake my own:
I must face Thy great White Throne.

JOSEPH COOK.

BOSTON MONDAY LECTURES.

INVOCATION.

ALMIGHTY God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, wilt Thou fill our souls with Thy spirit as thou dost fill the sky with the noon. In Thy light may we be convinced of sin and of the duty of immediate repentance. May we be delivered from contempt of Thy word and commandments. May our self-discipline be so perfected as to end in self-effacement. Wilt Thou empty us of ourselves, and fill us with Thyself; and so may we this morning not so much speak of Thee, as be spoken to and through by Thee, for Thine own sake. Amen.

PRELUDE I.

LEADERS AND MISLEADERS IN HIGH PLACES.

AT Mr. Cook's one hundred and eighty-seventh Boston Monday lecture, Tremont Temple, at noon, was crowded to the roof. Large numbers were standing at several doors of both balconies. It was estimated that from two to three hundred preachers were present, with many students, teachers, and other educated men. The Rev. Dr. A. J. Gordon, president of the lecture-ship, presided. The Rev. Samuel P. Jones offered prayer. The hymn entitled "The Creed of Certainties" was sung with impressive effect by from two to three thousand people, under the leadership of Professor Excell of Chicago.

GRAMMAR FOR BABES IN GRACE.

ROBERT BROWNING, who is unquestionably the subtlest of the ethical teachers which the poetry of our age has produced, deliberately affirms that our human earthly choice decides our eternal destiny. He is not a theological partisan. He speaks as Shakspeare would, as a student of the

irreversible natural laws under which character tends to final permanence, good or evil.

“Would a man escape the rod,
See that he turn to God
The day before his death.

Ay, could a man inquire
When it shall come, I say:
Then let him turn to-day.

Thus Karshook, Hiram’s hammer,
The Right-hand Temple column,
Taught babes in grace their grammar,
And struck the simple, solemn.”

ROBERT BROWNING: *Ben Karshook’s Wisdom*.
Select Poems, edited by Rolfe, p. 69.

This grammar for babes in grace is forgotten by certain misleaders of public sentiment in high places in our time. I mean not merely the secular press, which cannot be considered expert in theological discussion, but certain pulpits and a dwindling handful of theological professors.

There is a new theology in the air and the newspapers which teaches that it may sometimes be safe for a man to die in his sins. It affirms that all men are not to be judged by the deeds done in the body. It denies the universal necessity of repentance in this life. Mr. Emerson once described Massachusetts as a whole population out in search of a religion. We may now describe in the same way the entire wheeling globe. Japan, India, many isles of the sea, large parts of Africa, are asking not merely, What must we do to be civilized? but, What must we do to be saved? Is it safe to send this new gospel, which I confess appears to me to be another gospel, to the ends of the earth? Is it safe to adopt it here at home, when the fashions set in the West are copied so swiftly in the far East?

EX-PRESIDENT PORTER ON MISSIONS.

Ex-President Porter of Yale College, whom I name with the utmost respect, who was once my teacher, and to whom

I look up as a leader in philosophical and theological discussion, has lately affirmed that a man "would not necessarily be a worse missionary if he were to adopt the New Departures in full." (New Englander, February, 1887.) I wish to raise here seriously, in this solemn hour which Boston is passing through, the question whether that opinion is a sound one. We are in the midst of a revival; the world is in some sense in the midst of a revival; and just here and now is the time to ask the question, What are essentials and unessentials in theology? I am no partisan. I have no interests at stake in this debate, except those of my own sympathies in the conflict between faith and unbelief, or between truth and half truth, between unpolluted and more or less polluted forms of doctrine, between the whole outline of Christianity and distorted forms of it.

NEW PASSAGE IN MARK'S GOSPEL.

To bring my question to a practical issue, let me make a supposition which I hope will not seem to you too startling. I make it for the purposes of debate. There has lately been discovered in a convent on Mount Sinai, let us suppose, a hitherto wholly unknown passage of the holy Gospels. It is of far-reaching and momentous import, for it touches life, death, and judgment to come. The passage belongs in the seventh chapter of Mark's Gospel, one of the earliest of the evangelical records, and reads as follows:—

1. And the Syrophenician woman, who was a Greek, said unto Jesus: I have five brethren who know not thee; how, therefore, shall they be saved at the last great day?

2. And Jesus answered and said unto her: He who in this world knoweth not me and my works may know me in the life to come, and repent unto life everlasting.

3. If any man in this life knoweth not me and my works, it may be safe for that man to die in his sins.

4. Without knowledge of me and my works, no man can so repent as to attain unto eternal life.

5. Without knowledge of me and my works, thy brethren and those that are afar off in the regions beyond are not without excuse.

6. Without knowledge of me and my works in this world, no soul, however wicked, can be left without hope.

7. It would not be just for my Father in heaven to condemn any soul that hath no knowledge of me.

8. Whoso believeth not this offereth insult to my Father who is in heaven.

9. Verily, verily, I say unto thee: no one can be *lost* without having had knowledge of me.

What would be the effect of the addition of such a passage as this to the Gospels? Would any man in his senses, would any citizen fit to be out of bedlam, say that the addition is unimportant? and that it is of no consequence whether we accept it as authentic or not?

I maintain that the acceptance of such a passage would produce these effects: it would revolutionize our present views of probation as limited to this life; it would essentially change our conception of Christ's character; it would throw doubt on the necessity for his manifestation in this world, and go far toward making the cross superfluous; it would alter fundamentally every leading position in evangelical theology; it would immensely strengthen unevangelical forms of teaching and allied errors; it would destroy the urgency of the Scriptures in their demand for repentance in this life; it would ultimately, when hereditary momentum should have been lost, undermine revivals; and it would eventually, so soon as hereditary momentum should be lost, cut the nerve of missions.

It would also be peculiarly unfortunate if there should arise a difference in opinion as to the authenticity of this passage. There might easily be formed two sects inside any denomination; one sect affirming the authenticity of the passage, the other denying it. The doctrines of that passage could not be both affirmed and denied inside one religious organization, without confusion.

ESSENTIALS AND UNESSENTIALS.

What are essentials in theology? There are two tests of what an essential truth in theology is. First, any truth that touches closely the answer to the question, What must I do to be saved? is essential, if any thing is; and next, any

truth which cannot be both affirmed and denied inside one ecclesiastical organization, without confusion, is essential to the peace of that organization. One of these is a theological test, the other an ecclesiastical. The first, of course, is vastly higher than the second, and yet we must not quite overlook the necessity of unity and peace to religious aggressiveness. I hold that under both these tests the doctrine taught in this supposed new passage would be called essential, and that it would prove itself such in the discussion of the hour and of the day and of the age. It might introduce schism. It might cast a blight upon half the church life of the Occident, and so poison Asia and the isles of the sea which are watching us. As the revered Cyrus Hamlin has said to us, Asia is full of that doctrine already. Asia is a tinder-box ready to be set on fire by any spark which inculcates faith in an opportunity beyond death for reconciliation with God. Nearly all false religions are depending on such a future opportunity. And now, if in this whispering gallery of the globe, so small, so full of echoes, it is intimated that the loftiest culture of the West begins to accept the hypothesis of probation after death, missions would be divided. Paralysis would strike many a soul now eager to press into the kingdom of God. I do not say paralysis will strike souls that have been taught our ancestral faith. The evangelical unity of the world would not be broken up at once. Hereditary momentum will carry many teachers far. But religions are not to be judged so much by the men who make them, as by the men they make in the third generation. (Applause.) Feed the Church on that passage as it has been fed on the strenuous texts of the New Testament for eighteen hundred years, and I affirm that the results will show that this is not only a new gospel, but another gospel. (Loud applause.)

VAGARIES OF THE NEW THEOLOGY.

Identically the same propositions which are contained in the verses I have read to you, I might read to you out of

many a deliverance' of the new theology. For instance, I open here a work lately dissected by experts, and defended by experts, in this city. And, by the way, let me say I am exceedingly anxious that both sides should be heard in this discussion. There are four documents which have been issued recently that seem to me likely to become classics in church history. First, that noble treatise of Professor Park on "The Associate Creed of the Andover Theological Seminary," — a document the reading of which Professor Hodge of Princeton said was an education; next, the pamphlet by Professor Smyth, — a most ingenious defence of an essentially indefensible position (applause); next, the massive, searching theological discussion contained in Dr. Wellman's paper; and, lastly, the very learned and powerful, and, as I cannot help saying, as no one is responsible for my opinion here, the wholly unanswerable historical argument by Dr. Dexter. These four documents I wish you would all read; not three of them, but four; and, when you have read them all, you will be perfectly familiar with the doctrine in my new passage in Mark. On the first page to which I turn in the book entitled "Progressive Orthodoxy," I read: —

"Much less is it permissible to conclude that any heathen, however wicked he may be, but who has not heard of Christ, is absolutely lost." "We have been endeavoring to show that no one can be *lost* without having had knowledge of Christ." (p. 250.)

"The limitation of probation for all men to the present life . . . is no part nor presupposition of the gospel" ("Andover Review," October, 1885, p. 36). "The apostle affirmed of the historic Christ: In none other is there salvation. . . . We cannot but think it derogatory to this salvation to identify it with any experience which does not include the knowledge of the Father through the Son." (p. 362.)

"The power and inclination to repent are not found except when God is revealed in Christ." "*Only* because Christ has brought God to men in a new light are they stirred to penitence." ("Progressive Orthodoxy," p. 47.) "The entire race repents, or is capable of repenting, through Christ." (p. 54.) "Man of himself cannot repent." (p. 55.) "We may go so far as to say that it would not be just for God to condemn men hopelessly when they have not known him as he really is, when they have not known him in Jesus Christ." (p. 64.)

The passage supposed to be discovered in Mark is not more positive in tone as an hypothesis than these citations.

In Christian lands, as in pagan, no one who does not intelligently reject the historic Christ can be without hope, even if he dies in his sins! However wicked, however fixed in evil habit, however rebellious against that light of conscience and nature which, the apostle affirms, leaves even the heathen without excuse, "no one can be *lost* without having had knowledge of Christ." This is the new theology, most indiscreetly championed in high places and in presence of the whole earth.

PROFESSOR BOARDMAN ON PROGRESSIVE ORTHODOXY.

In a great debate which occurred beyond the Mississippi, on this theme, the only teacher of systematic theology who took part affirmed that this new doctrine changed essentially every thing that is fundamental in the doctrines of grace. Professor Boardman of Chicago used these grave words: —

"It has been said here, over and over, that the question is a mere speculation, a secondary question, and an inferior question, and a subordinate question. I do not wish to let that language pass unnoticed. I wish to say that I do not consider it inferior or subordinate, when it is taken in all its connections. The question has been discussed as if this doctrine of future probation could be cut out of every thing else and presented alone, as if it was a pleasant little thing, a toy, a little plaything, which any man might carry in his pocket and take out to amuse himself with when he chose.

"In 'Progressive Orthodoxy' it is written, not that no man can be *saved*, but that no man can be *lost*, until he knows the Lord Jesus Christ. It involves the doctrine of sin. It involves the relation of the atonement to the moral government of God, and puts it in a place that destroys the atonement and the doctrine of grace, in my opinion. I give it simply as my view. It changes the doctrine of the Judgment. It changes the doctrine of the work of the Holy Spirit. It changes the doctrine relating to the justice of God. For it assumes that for the soul to be in this world judged, condemned, and lost is a terrible impeachment of the justice of God. And the doctrine is built on the injustice of God in the past in dealing with men under his simple moral government, and the belief that he will be just hereafter, inasmuch as he has not been before. . . . It is perfectly and thoroughly revolutionary of the doctrines of grace as I understand them." — *The Great Debate*, pp. 55-57.

When you change the centre in a circle, you change every portion of the circumference.

President Porter says that Dr. Goodwin, in the great debate at Des Moines, was received with favor, although he is a believer in a certain doctrine as to the advent of Christ not generally held by evangelical churches; and implies that we may just as well send abroad missionaries who hold the new theory as to probation after death, as to send abroad men like Dr. Goodwin or Mr. Moody, or one or two of the revered fathers who honor us with their presence this morning, who hold a view concerning the second coming of Christ that has not as yet, perhaps, been generally accepted. I apply my test to these two doctrines. The hypothesis that there is a probation beyond death touches closely the answer to the question, What must I do to be saved? The theory of the second coming of Christ is important. I would not underrate the scholarship, the wisdom, the courage, of any who hold the view which President Porter criticises. Evidently it does not touch as closely as the other doctrine touches the question that is central in all practical religious effort. A man may or may not believe the doctrine held by Dr. Goodwin, and yet be efficacious in evangelistic work or in missions. Scores of eminent scholars and evangelists hold it. (See *The Watchword*, May, 1886.) It can be both affirmed and denied inside of one organization, without confusion. Teaching that doctrine ought not to be, and is not, divisive and revolutionary. We know what the teaching of the other doctrine has been. It has almost divided several of our philanthropic societies already. It divided that great meeting at Des Moines. God knows whether it will yet, by the help of the secular press driving the dagger home, divide the American Board itself. The attempt is made to sever that great organization from a policy which Heaven has blessed through three-quarters of a century. (Applause.) I am in no clique. I have no interest in this matter myself, except its connection with truth.

MR. BEECHER'S NEW VIEWS.

Are we to consider Mr. Beecher's somewhat erratic positions as a portion of the New Departures? How wide will those departures become? (Laughter.) Mr. Beecher is a man of genius. We have all loved him. Most of us love him yet. Would God there were no cloud in his sky! He has been the champion of reform, and has indeed been far from a misleader of the nation, until of late. One almost thinks he would have lived longer if he had died earlier. (Applause.)

"Fires that shook him once are now to silent ashes fallen away,
Cold upon the dead volcano lies the gleam of dying day."

TENNYSON.

He assures us airily, brusquely, wittily, that we all must have a second chance. He is honest enough to admit he cannot prove from the Bible that this is the case. Will it do to scatter doubt on this subject in audiences passing through revivals, in nations awakening from the sleep of paganism, and adopting precedents that are to rule ages to come on the other side of the globe? Will it do to be so tolerant that our toleration becomes intolerable? (Applause.)

I want nothing that is not scriptural. I will submit to whatever can be shown to be a fair inference from God's revelation; but I maintain unflinchingly that the addition of such doctrines as I now emphasize to the Holy Word would change, not only the emphasis, and that is a great deal to change, but the substance of doctrine in the evangelical creed.

HARMFUL HYPOTHESES AT THE FRONT.

In opposition to President Porter, President Hopkins has said of late that he would not send abroad any man who teaches probation after death. A letter from all the members of the Maratha mission, lately given to the public in the secular and religious press, lies before me; and in it the assertion is made, that the missionaries there would all consider

the teaching of that hypothesis, even if it be presented as nothing more, as "exceedingly harmful." A man adopting that hypothesis in full would be a worse missionary because of the anxiety he would give his associates, the schism he might foster, and the difficulty of raising funds from evangelical churches to support him, to say nothing of the error of his teaching. I have been in Asia, and I have shaken hands with many missionaries. It has been my fortune to look into the faces of soldiers at the front. They are not narrow men. They are not unscholarly men. They are not cowards. They are not laggards. They know how central in their work is the question of the Gospels, What must I do to be saved? These men do not underrate the value of the light that God gives to all souls. They believe with Paul that the Father reveals himself to all his children more or less clearly, and in all cases so clearly that with only the knowledge of the Father the heathen are without excuse. As Professor Hodge used to say, "Whoever accepts Christ would accept the Father; and whoever accepts the Father would, if he knew him, accept Christ."

Who is the essential Christ? you ask me. The Father, as known to all men. The Holy Spirit, as given to all men. The Word, who in the beginning was with God and was God. The Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world. God is one. Let us not teach such a doctrine of the Trinity, nor of the means of salvation, as would require a re-adjustment of the entire scheme of scholarly evangelical thought. We are on Biblical ground when we refuse to accept as harmonious with the rest of the Scriptures this passage from the convent on Sinai — I might have said from, not the great Andover that was, but the little Andover that is. (Applause and laughter.) Andover is dear to me, and I mention her because of her glory. She has had a great history, and is yet likely to have a greater one, but not under her present leadership. (Applause.)

Dr. Dexter has lately said that "the Westminster is more nearly than any thing else our actual Congregational creed

to-day." (Argument in the Andover case, p. 118.) He is an authority on this theme; and I hail with gladness a statement from so unimpeachable an authority, that Congregationalists are substantially one in affirming those truths which constitute the unity of the evangelical bodies of the world. Although I am forced to mention one denomination by itself, I am speaking in the interests of all denominations; I speak for evangelical scholarship, for that broad, advancing, thoroughly enlightened, and I hope profoundly devout view of God's word and of natural truth which underlies all Christian earnestness, all evangelistic aggressiveness, all missionary endeavor.

FOUR PARTIES IN THE CHURCHES.

There are four parties asking for attention in this controversy,—the orthodox, the tolerationists, the agnostics, the New Departure teachers. A union of the tolerationists and the agnostics with the few who say they are convinced that there must be an opportunity of repentance offered to some men or to many men after death, might make much difficulty for the orthodox churches of the land of every name. I am not a preacher; I am not a pastor. I am in the pay of no ecclesiastical body. My whole time, however, is given to the study of the religious signs of the hour, and I assure you that I believe that men of sound opinions ought to break silence. We have long enough in the interests of peace held our peace. I think the heart of the churches is sound. I think the heart of Presbyterianism is sound, of Methodism is sound, of the Baptist Church is sound, of the Episcopal Church is sound. Ay, the heart of Congregationalism is sound, if you sound it deeply enough! (Applause.)

Those who teach this erratic doctrine are in high places. I wish to speak of them with respect. I am not assailing their motives. No doubt they think they are doing God service. But, judged by the dissensions of the past, by the colossal needs of the present hour, must we not say that the doctrine advanced by those who justify the New Departure is divisive, is revolutionary, is untried? If you go with me

as far as this, I shall ask you to meditate whether it is not unscriptural also. No one can adopt the New Departure in full, and preach in the biblical tone. We have been discussing this matter for ages. Is it possible that we have so misapprehended God in his revelation, that in the nineteenth century we must introduce something perilously near unevangelical positions?

WOULD-BE UNIVERSALISM.

A preacher in this city, who represents one of our great historic churches, has said lately, or at least is credibly reported as saying, "If I could, I would be a dogmatic Universalist. I should have so much more incentive to live for righteousness." (Christian Union, Jan. 13.) What must be said of a position like this? The eye-lid runs close to the eye-ball, but the eye-lid is not the eye-ball, and yet they sympathize with each other. No; we must not assert that this is Universalism, but it is would-be Universalism. The last assertion, however, "I should have so much more incentive to live for righteousness," goes farther. It affirms that Universalism presents stronger motives to righteousness than orthodoxy can. For substance of doctrine, this *is* Universalism. And that sentence is, naturally enough, printed in small capitals in the leading article of this Universalist sheet. (Christian Leader, Jan. 27.) It is my business to study the signs of the times. I am attacking nobody, and in this reference I mention no one by name (laughter); but I affirm that when the eye-lid runs as close as this to the eye-ball, the nearness cannot be safely increased. (Laughter.) It is time to keep the eyes open when doctrines approaching as closely as this to unevangelical positions are proclaimed from the heights of evangelical authority.

DR. STORRS ON THE ANDOVER NEOLOGY.

How far shall we go in the direction of neology? Dr. Storrs wrote to the meeting at Des Moines, that for one he must pause a long way this side of the new theology.

"Of course I earnestly and confidently hope that no action will be taken at the meeting which can be construed by anybody as removing the Board, or its Prudential Committee, from the original doctrinal foundations, or as contributing the support of the Board, moral or financial, to the furtherance of a recent speculation, which appears to claim no scriptural authority, which seems to many rashly to encourage the delay of repentance, and by which it seems as evident as the sun in the sky, that the missionary enthusiasm of seventy-five years ago could not have been inspired, almost equally evident that it cannot be now successfully maintained." — *Letter from Rev. Dr. R. S. Storrs: The Great Debate*, p. 31.

The result at Des Moines justified, by a most unmistakable majority, the late policy of the American Board. It discredited a recent Commission Creed as incomplete in essentials.

I happen to know the opinions of five sets of theological professors in the land. I know there are at least five perfectly sound theological seminaries in the Congregational body; and, for aught I know, the other theological seminaries will soon be sound, if the churches arise and assert their own soundness. (Applause.)

The remedy for all this mischief is to be found in the closets of prayer, in the revivals which are sweeping through the land, in the open Bible. It is the pupil of the eye you are discussing, the vitality of missions abroad, the vitality of the Bibles at home. The triumph of the Church depends on its being Biblical. Keep close to the heart of Christ. Only in that way can you keep close to the forehead of Almighty God. I believe, as solemnly as that I exist, that honest scholarship cannot obtain from the New Testament any other doctrine than that of the universal necessity of repentance in this life. (Applause.)

QUESTIONS.

Ought the Chicago anarchists to be pardoned?

The Knights of Labor in their convention at Richmond asked for the pardon of the Chicago anarchists, or, at least, for their exemption from capital punishment. I have a penholder made of wood from the sidewalk from which the bomb was thrown in the attack of the anarchists upon the police in the beautiful city of the Great Lakes. I have another penholder made from wood of a telegraph-pole through which the ball of a gatling gun was fired in the attempt to suppress the recent Cincinnati mob. I have meditated on the spot of these riots concerning the duty of American citizens as to misrule, stimulated by socialistic, communistic, and atheistic heresies. My answer to this question is, May God have mercy on the souls of the anarchists, but may the courts not have mercy on their bodies! (Applause.)

Ought soldiers to defend substitutes against strikers?

Yes, if necessary. Workingmen have a right to strike, I suppose; but, of course, not to prevent other workingmen from taking their places. Live and *let live* is a motto of which the second half is as important as the first. If all workingmen would follow Mr. Powderly's advice as to strikes, there would be no need of powder to put down labor riots.

LECTURE I.

WASTE OF OPPORTUNITY THE CHIEF PERIL OF THE CHURCH.

UNITY OF INTERNATIONAL THOUGHT.

THE entire population of the world might be gathered as an audience in a field fifteen miles square. The rim of the horizon visible from the summit of Bunker Hill Monument contains space enough to give shelter to the whole human family. The antipodes are only opposite sides of a narrow street. Cities separated by the earth's whole diameter are commercial competitors. Bombay is a rival of Chicago in the grain trade with Europe, Australia of Texas in the wool trade with the world. Electrical communications now, or soon will, carry news and thought around the whole globe six times an hour. Mr. Gladstone rises in Parliament to begin his argument on the Irish question, and in Chicago I buy a full report of his speech three hours before he begins. (Laughter.) Your friend stretches out his hand to you by telegraph from London, and his electric palm strikes yours on this coast at least four or five hours before it is stretched out. The noise of the bombardment of Alexandria is heard around the world before the muzzles of the guns cease smoking. Mr. Freeman, the English historian, says that the most striking circumstance in modern civilization is, to his mind, that an American President may read a message at noon at Washington, have it flashed under the Atlantic, commented on by the principal journals of Europe, their comments flashed back, and published here the next morning from sea to sea. The chief newspapers of the globe are strung on one telegraphic wire. There can be no more foreign or hermit lands. World-wide contagion of good and evil has become a momentous

force in modern history. The best or the worst thought of the world anywhere is rapidly becoming its best or its worst thought everywhere. As Bismarck has said, the whole world in our time is a single chess-board, and no man can make a move intelligently in any large matter, on any corner of it, without understanding the whole of it. Every large cause, good or bad, has not only national, but international, influence. Nothing great can be done in a corner.

SPEED OF INTERCOMMUNICATION.

Washington and Franklin, Samuel Johnson and Edmund Burke, travelled much as Cicero and Cæsar did, and they much as Socrates and Isaiah did, — on wheels moved by horses. Means of intercommunication have been improved more in the last eighty years than in the previous eight hundred. Give a train the right of way, and it surpasses a steamship in speed; but in ordinary travel it pauses frequently, while the steamship knows no rest. There is no railway train on the planet that makes, regularly, as great average speed through very long distances as the fleetest steamships. New York is about midway between London and San Francisco, but the best steamers make the distance to the East as quickly as average trains that to the West. Steamships and locomotives are inventions of our century; and, flying as shuttles from shore to shore and sea to sea, are weaving an entirely new web of international relations.

Horace wrote a beautiful ode concerning a trip of his from Rome to Brindisi, and the sweet song has come down to us across all the centuries. Poets and philosophers in Cæsar's time were never weary of celebrating the speed of intercommunication in the Roman Empire. But the whole globe to-day is really not as large as the Roman Empire was in the days of the Cæsars. What would Cæsar or Cicero or Virgil or Horace think of his experience if placed on board one of the greyhounds of the Atlantic, and transferred in six days and ten hours from New-York harbor-bar to Queenstown harbor-bar at the rate of more than eighteen

miles an hour average speed across the stormiest ocean on earth? Our travellers would soon be in London, in Rome, in Brindisi, in Alexandria, in the Red Sea, in the Indian Ocean, in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Columbo in Ceylon, Sydney in Australia, Auckland in green New Zealand, Honolulu, San Francisco, and within a week at New York again, having put a girdle around the whole world — and that not merely around its neck, but around its largest circumference — in ninety circuits of the sun. As soon as the railway lines already projected are opened between Constantinople and Bombay, and between Calcutta and Shanghai, it will be possible to make a tour of the world in six weeks. A fortnight now carries you from San Francisco to London; a fortnight then will carry you from London through Bombay, Calcutta, and Shanghai to Yokohama; and a fortnight more will bring you back across the Pacific to San Francisco.

RECESSION OF BARBARISM.

When Rome opposed barbarism, she was really in danger of being overwhelmed by it. When Greece opposed barbarism, she was in even greater danger. What was Greece? A single taper in a tempest, and ultimately extinguished by the gusts of barbarism which beat upon it. What was Rome? A chandelier in a hurricane, and ultimately put out by the blasts from the barbaric north. Who pushed barbarism northward and eastward from the Parthenon? The armies of Greece, her statesmen and her philosophers. Who pushed barbarism north to the Seine and the Rhine? That hard-fisted ancient whom we call Julius Cæsar, and we are his debtors to this day for his work. Who pushed back the frontier of barbarism from the Rhine to the Vistula? Charlemagne. Who carried Christianity across Prussia to the borders of the Russian Empire? The Teutonic knights. Who pushed Christianity and the accompanying civilization across the Ural Mountains and far toward the Oxus? Russia. (Compare Fiske's "American Political Ideas.") Where is there on the globe to-day a cave of the winds from which

a tempest of barbarism can again burst forth to put out the candles of civilization? Nowhere. The audiences of Peter the Hermit used to shout, "It is the will of God that we should deliver the holy sepulchre from barbarians." In view of what is happening on the globe to-day, we ought to shout, It is the will of God that there should be no barbarians. (Applause.)

My topic is, Waste of Opportunity the Chief Peril of the Church. Modern and novel opportunity is of many kinds, — geographical, philosophical, theological, ethical, political. To-day I can only open so vast a theme, and discuss the geographical opportunity of the Church. This is as immense and momentous as it is essentially new. The chief promise and the chief peril of our time arise from the world-wide contagion of both good and evil.

My chief propositions are: —

INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS PERILS.

1. Speed of inter-communication, and the resulting unity of international thought, are now such that the world hereafter is to be healed or poisoned very much as a whole.

2. With the educated and upper classes in Asia, hereditary misbelief, when given up, is more readily replaced by imported unbelief than by Christianity.

3. If sound opinions do not fill the world speedily, unsound ones will.

4. There is to be a precipitation of half-truths and distorted truths upon all nations.

5. If unsound opinions fill the self-reforming hermit nations at the opening of the twentieth century, sound opinions will labor thereafter for a long period at immense disadvantage.

6. The supreme danger of the hour is, that sound will lag behind unsound opinions in conquering the world.

7. The geographical opportunity of Christianity is broadening far faster than the effort to occupy the new fields.

The point I wish chiefly to emphasize is, that undue delay

in occupying the geographical opportunity of the Church is now immensely dangerous to missions and to the world.

In the centre of Australia, on the sheep ranches under the Southern cross, and most especially in the sea-coast cities of Australia, and so in all sea-coast towns of Asia, infidel literature is abundant. The rationalism of Europe penetrates to the ends of the earth. Not a dream of any prominence here in infidel circles can obtain voice without having an echo at the antipodes. There is organized propagandism for infidelity from side to side of the globe. If within twenty-five years Christianity is not heard from everywhere, it is very certain infidelity will be in advance of it in many places, in many fields yet new to both. Postpone the triumph of Christianity twenty-five years, and you will injure the cause of truth more than you would have done a hundred years ago by postponing the triumph of Christianity twice or thrice that time.

IMPORTED UNBELIEF IN JAPAN AND INDIA.

Beginning at the East, you find Japan awakening from the slumber of ages, and in twenty-five or thirty years reforming; not only its politics, and to a great extent its social life, but also its religion. Native misbelief has ceased to be popular with the Japanese court, very soon will have no standing with the nobility, and will linger among the peasants fifty years hence as a fossil. Since the sun began to shine upon our globe, no nation has made as important political and social and religious changes in as short a time as has the Japanese. It is a saying now, on the Inland Sea, that soon nothing will be left as it was in Japan, except the natural scenery. The learned Dr. Hepburn affirms, that, if Christian missionaries were now to be driven out of Japan, the native Christians would carry on, alone and successfully, the work of evangelizing the land. Imported unbelief, however, is yet a peril in Japan. If allowed to fasten its roots deeply in that virgin soil, its growth may become rank and poisonous, and scatter seeds of mischief far and wide in Asia.

China contains twice as many people as any Cæsar ever governed. Six European railway syndicates are at this moment petitioning at Peking for permission to build railways through the Celestial Empire.

India contains twice as many people as the Roman Empire ruled. Through this immense mass of human beings England is pushing forward common schools, universities, railways, courts of law, the English language, Christianity. Nevertheless, in India, with the educated classes, imported unbelief is a peril far greater than the hereditary misbelief.

Africa, you think, is yet a hermit region ; but here, too, all gates are opening. Six railways are now in process of construction from the exterior to the interior of the Dark Continent. You have heard lately on this very platform the renowned traveller who opened equatorial Africa to the gaze of civilization, and has founded the vast Congo Free State. Africa is, perhaps, the last continental field you will ever have a chance to conquer from virgin heathenism. The end is coming of our conquest of the world. The national era is closed ; the international is dawning. The latter, like the former, will not be a scene of unmixed good, but will illustrate the contagion of both good and evil.

DUTIES OF OCCIDENT TO ORIENT.

The accessible populations of the world are increasing much more rapidly than missionary funds and laborers. In view of this crisis in contemporary religious history, what less can we say than that these two remedies should be everywhere emphasized as the standard of our duty in face of our great modern peril ?

1. For every five dollars expended by the churches for work at home, they ought to expend at least one for work abroad.

2. The accessible unchristian portions of the world ought to be supplied with at least one ordained missionary for every fifty thousand people.

It was Paul's glory, it was the result, as I think, of Paul's

inspiration, to seize upon great centres, and to fill the mind of the foremost circles of the Roman Empire with the preaching of Christianity. Why shall we not lift ourselves up to the height of the ambition of governing the planet from the Christian centres in God's name? Why shall we not see that in Africa, in the isles of the sea, in every region to which Christianity has not hitherto penetrated, its supreme tidings shall be heard before another century dawns?

Max Müller has recently told us that the number of real and nominal Christians on the globe is greater than that of the adherents of any other faith. We have commonly been told that one or two pagan faiths, until very lately at least, have outnumbered the Christians; but Professor Müller thinks this a mistake, and affirms that to-day the globe has more Christians on it, real and nominal, than adherents of any other creed. Whether this be true or not, the power of the world is chiefly in the hands of Christian nations.

If the Christians of the globe should rise up, extend their arms, and join hands, they would reach, how far? Once, twice, thrice, eleven times around the world. Of course I speak now of merely nominal Christians. The real Christians ought to reach around once. There should be hope for a world as small as ours and thus engirdled. The best scholars affirm that it is quite within the power of Christianity to bring the knowledge of the spoken or written Gospel, before the end of this century, to every human being.

THE SKY THE ROOF OF BUT ONE FAMILY.

Tennyson says that the inhabitants of Mars, looking this way, might call ours a happy planet; but they might call it a small one also, hardly fit to be the seat of a kingdom of humanity, still less, perhaps, fit to be the kingdom of the Lord of all lords. Go a little way south, and you make a snowball from the flakes of the Antarctic skies. Here we make one from the flakes of the opposite pole. We are a snow-capped planet, with the two white zones whirling through space, as we see whirling the snow-caps of Mars.

This is all there is of us. We live but once. Why shall we not consider this entire globe as our personal spiritual possession? Why shall we not rise to the dignity of the Christian point of view, and say that our field is the world, and that the sky is the roof of but one family?

The gospel will be preached in all nations, for a witness to all peoples, and then cometh the end. The first half of that prophecy has been fulfilled, or has nearly been accomplished. How soon will the second half of it become history? What God does is well done. What God does is successfully done. The kingdoms of the earth will be given to Him to whom they belong. In exact fulfilment of this prophecy, humanity is now ascending a path that is to rise higher and higher, until international effort in Christendom is a unit. There will be an evangelization of the whole earth. Who doubts it? But, if the first half of that divine prediction is fulfilled, who doubts that the second half will be also? Then cometh the end.

“Turn, turn,” round world. “All life is brief;
What now is bud will soon be leaf.
The Wind blows East, the Wind blows West;
The blue eggs in the robin’s nest
Will soon have wings and beak and breast.”

LONGFELLOW: *Keramos.*

(Applause.)

II.

MODERN NOVEL OPPORTUNITY IN
PHILOSOPHY.

WITH A PRELUDE ON

LORD'S DAY LAWLESSNESS.

THE 188TH LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP,
DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE, FEB. 14, 1887.

BOSTON HYMN.

BETTER HE.

SUNG AT TREMONT TEMPLE, FEB. 14, AT THE ONE HUNDRED AND
EIGHTY-EIGHTH BOSTON MONDAY LECTURE.

1. Lo, the Maker ! better He,
Greater than His works must be.
Of the works the lowest stair
Thought can scale, but fainteth there.
2. Bounds of sun-groups none can see ;
Worlds God droppeth on His knee ;
Galaxies that loftiest swarm
Float before a loftier Form.
3. Brighter He Who maketh bright
Jasper, beryl, chrysolite ;
Lucent more than they, Whose hands
Girded up Orion's bands.
4. Mighty the speed of suns and worlds,
Mightier Who these onward hurls.
Strong is law, but He its Source,
Law of law and Force of force.
5. On the wheels of worlds He rides ;
In the Conscience He abides ;
Highest outmost, God alone
Deepest inmost makes His throne.
6. Thee with all our strength and heart,
God, we love for what Thou art ;
Ravished we, obedient now ;
Only, only perfect Thou !

JOSEPH COOK.

INVOCATION.

GREATER art Thou, our Father in heaven, than Thy works : for it must be that the Maker is greater than any thing that He hath made ; but Thy works no man or angel can comprehend. Thou holdest all worlds in Thy palm as the small dust of the balance. We adore Thee for what Thou hast done in that unfathomable creation of Thine, in which Thou hast given us here a fleeting and elsewhere an immortal existence. We worship thee, for Thou art better than Thy creation. Thou art the Father of Lights, from whom in this life and the next cometh down every good and perfect gift. Thou art the Author of Conscience. Thine is the still small Voice. Thou art of too pure eyes to behold iniquity ; therefore may we take our proper places before Thee, with our lips in the dust, crying, Unclean, unclean ! What is man in his best estate that Thou art mindful of him ? What is man in his worst estate that Thou visitest him ? The heaven of heavens cannot contain Thee ; but Thou dwellest in the humble and contrite heart. Thou art not only our Creator and Preserver and Ruler, but our Redeemer also. We would touch the hem of Thy garment and be healed of all our diseases. Beholding Thee as both Redeemer and Ruler, we do here and now gladly, affectionately, and irreversibly accept Thee as both Saviour and Lord, in life and death and beyond death, for Thine own sake, Amen.

PRELUDE II.

LORD'S DAY LAWLESSNESS.

There was another great audience present at Mr. Cook's one hundred and eighty-eighth Boston Monday lecture. Mr. and Mrs. T. H. Tibbles (Bright Eyes), the Indian reformers, Bishop Walden, and the usual large number of preachers were on the platform. The Rev. Dr. A. H. Plumb presided. The Rev. Dr. Seymour of Boston offered prayer. The hymn entitled "Better He" was sung by the whole audience, under the leadership of Mr. T. P. Ryder at the organ.

SUNDAY IN ASIA AND AFRICA.

SUNDAY, the tallest white angel now on the earth, is knocking for admission at the great gates of Asia and of Africa and of the isles of the sea. Shall we allow the black angels of the dregs of the Occident to stab her in the back, now that she seems ready, for the first time since the world began to roll, to make a circuit of the earth? What priceless blessings to families, cities, states, and nations rain from the unobstructed hands of the angel of the Lord's Day! What an inestimable boon to the toiling and crowded millions of Asia and Africa, her entrance into those continents, her peaceful, authoritative, and holy walk up and down the banks of the Ganges, the Yang-tse-kiang, the Nile, and the Congo, would be! Is Boston to stab this angel? Is Chicago or New York? Is London or Paris? The cause of Sabbath observance cannot be presented in its whole weight, unless it is regarded as having not only national but international issues. We make a serious mistake in discussing Lord's Day lawlessness, if we do not notice that whenever Sunday is wounded in America and Europe the antipodes wince. It would be much to overthrow the British constitution, much to overthrow the American; but, after all, the fundamental constitution of modern civilization as a whole

is Sunday, the Decalogue, the Sermon on the Mount, the Bible. As citizens of the universal theocracy, as members of that family of man which is more and more nearly a unit as the ages advance, we ought to consider ourselves trustees for the whole earth in our effort to protect the Sunday.

PERIODIC REST AND WORSHIP.

Nothing succeeds like success, and so nothing helps Sunday so much as Sunday. A right observance of Sunday is best promoted by that right observance itself. The only sufficient support for Sunday under universal suffrage is a Christian population. Sunday will be observed as it should be only by those to whom it is a delight; and the central problem, therefore, in Sunday reform is to multiply the number of those to whom Sunday is a delight. As a day of rest, Sunday ought to be a delight to all men. As a day of worship, of religious instruction, of benevolent activity, it ought also to be a delight to every man of good conscience and judgment.

The experience of centuries shows, however, that you will in vain endeavor to preserve Sunday as a day of rest, unless you preserve it as a day of worship. Unless Sunday observance be founded upon religious reasons, you will not long maintain it at a high standard on the basis of economic and physiological and political considerations only. Therefore, in striking a key-note here this morning, I would not drop by the breadth of a syllable below the famous message of President Lincoln, in which, as long ago as 1862, he authoritatively advised the army and the navy to observe Sunday, and this because of a due regard to the Divine will. The French army itself has lately been required to observe Sunday.

The holy command to men to observe one day in seven for rest and worship is older than apostolical example and precept concerning the Lord's Day; it is older than the re-affirmation of the Decalogue by the Sermon on the Mount; it is older than the Decalogue itself; it is inwoven with natural

law, and had its origin when the morning stars sang together for joy. We are so made, and the world about us is so made, that we require periodic rest for the health of the body; and equally periodic worship, religious instruction, benevolent activity, for the sanity of the soul and of society.

Under universal suffrage, political sanity will not be possible without Sunday observance, both in the way of rest and in that of religious instruction. If you wish to verify the predictions of the critics of free governments, give republics a Sunday that is only a picnic day, or only a time when those who tempt their neighbors and fleece them, the whiskey rings, the brothels, the gambling-dens, are allowed free course.

What would the abolition of Sunday abolish? Nine-tenths of the religious activity of Christian lands. The immensely larger part of our religious activity occurs on Sunday. As laborers in Christian lands are free on Sundays, they are more open to the solicitations of the tempters of the race on that day than at any other time; and so it is for the interest of the black angels, as well as of the white angels, to capture this opportunity, and this conflict has world-wide issues.

TORONTO AS AN OBJECT-LESSON.

When lately I made a tour in the Canadian Dominion north of us, it was my fortune to study the city of Toronto, which is supposed to be more perfect in its Sunday observance than any other town of its size on the globe. It is a great object-lesson. His Honor, Mayor W. S. Howland of that city came to my rooms at a hotel, and said, "You have passed a Sunday here. A network of horse-car tracks lay before your hotel. Have you seen the horse-cars moving?" — "No." — "Did you notice any saloons open?" — "No." — "Were there any cigar-stands visible on the streets or through the glass windows?" — "No." — "Have you ever seen a more quiet Sunday than Toronto gave you yesterday?" — "No." — "And you have been in Edinburgh?" — "Yes." — "Only a thorough execution of the Sunday laws," continued

the mayor, "will break up the whiskey rings, and prevent municipal misrule. But, to be successful, the execution of Sunday laws must be impartial and four-square."

In Toronto the works of necessity which are allowed to be done on the sabbath day include the opening of livery stables on emergency; they permit telegraph-operators and milkmen to perform a certain amount of labor at definite hours, under emergency; but they do not include the running of horse-cars,—and this in a city now numbering nearly one hundred and thirty thousand people. The druggists in Toronto do not do a miscellaneous business in cigars and drinks and knick-knacks. Their stores are open only for the sale of medicine an hour or two in the morning, and again in the evening. The ferrymen have nearly all of Sunday in which to rest. No passenger-trains are started; and only two or three trains, which compete with American railroads, go from side to side of the city. Children are at church in the morning; they attend sabbath school between the two services, and are often at church in the afternoon. The churches are crowded twice a day, often three times, including the evening service. The city is the seat of a leading university, and of several other important educational institutions, as well as of the government of Ontario. There are no Sunday journals in Toronto. (Applause.) Barbers, except in hotels, butchers and grocers, florists, expressmen, and liquor-dealers rest. (Applause.) There are, indeed, some saloons which give out private latch-keys in large numbers. Toronto is not perfect; but, on the whole, her law requiring Sunday closing is admirably executed. All bar-rooms and liquor-shops are required by law to close at seven o'clock on Saturday evening, and not to open until six o'clock on Monday. And last, but not least, Saturday in Toronto is, for the most part, a half-holiday for workingmen. (Applause.)

Toronto is not yet under prohibitory law; but so thoroughly is the requirement of Sunday closing carried out, that the whiskey dealers lose heart, and usually give up the attempt to make great gains by turning Sunday into the time

for ministrations to the base appetites of the population. Workingmen are free on Sundays; and, of course, the liquor-dealer feels that more game is in sight during the holy hours than at any other time, and therefore he is immensely tempted to occupy his opportunity. But, if that opportunity be taken away, the liquor-trade becomes comparatively unprofitable. It has been found in Toronto that the thorough execution of the law for Sunday closing is almost equivalent to the prohibitory law in certain American States where it is half executed.

You do not believe in prohibition, some of you say. Well, you believe in Sunday closing, do you not? I take up now and then a somnolent English, or even American, religious journal that is too conservative to advocate prohibition out and out, but it is always in favor of Sunday closing. Great is the virtue of consistency! If the State has power to close liquor-shops on Sundays, if it is constitutional to shut up these places of temptation on the Lord's Day and on election day, why is it not constitutional to shut up the same places on Mondays and Tuesdays, and through the whole week? (Applause.)

This mayor of Toronto, by the way, has lately been re-elected by a large majority. Many women have the right to vote in municipal elections there, and they cast their ballots in a mass for law and order. When the successful candidate came before a great audience immediately after his election, Shaftesbury Hall, packed to the roof, had in it so many of his friends, that the entire assembly rose, and, after cheer upon cheer had been given to the noble man, the Doxology was sung; a singular political song (laughter), but most thoroughly appropriate to that significant triumph.

For one, I agree with Dr. Crafts in saying that Great Britain and America ought to import, not from Paris, but from Toronto, a *Free Sunday*; that is, a Sunday in which one-half of mankind shall be free from servile work for the amusement of the other half. ("The Sabbath for Man," pp. 393-407.)

CAUSES OF THE DESECRATION OF SUNDAY.

What are the chief causes of Lord's Day lawlessness?

1. Avarice, especially the greed and unscrupulousness of the whiskey rings.

2. The exigencies of immense railway systems in America and Europe.

3. The disproportionate growth of great cities, and the accompanying increase of municipal misrule, especially under universal suffrage.

4. The example of Sunday advertising sheets, Sunday sporting papers, Sunday loafers' journals, and the general audacity of Sunday newspapers in securing a wide distribution by special trains and expresses.

5. Contagion from the loose Continental Sunday fashions of Europe, through an immense immigration.

6. Scepticism, infidelity, false liberalism.

7. Rude habits and religious destitution of many large frontier populations.

8. Inadequate effort of the Church to instruct the masses, by both example and precept, as to the right use of Sunday.

9. The growth of luxury, the separation of classes, and the apathy of the well-to-do as to the condition of the poor.

10. The very general introduction of machinery in nearly every branch of productive industry.

Machinery does not easily tire. If you work sixty hours a week, you may work ten hours on each of six successive days, and rest on Sunday, and go through the year with unimpaired health. But if you take your sixty hours, and divide them equally between seven days in the week, and have no circuit of the sun for rest, you injure the physical constitution, and drop lower and lower, until it may be that at the end of the year you are physically incapacitated for further labor; it may be sooner. Periodic rest is a necessity for all muscles in man or beast; it is not such, in any large degree, for steel and iron and brass. It is not such at all for steam. Because the immense plant in machinery in factories

and on railways and elsewhere can be profitably run twenty-four hours in every day, from year's end to year's end, a temptation of enormous force is now pressing upon many kinds of business, to carry on activity day after day without any period of rest. Iron itself, as the expert engineers tell us, does need rest; but gravitation and electricity are tireless.

Several of these causes are essentially new to civilization, and introduce emergencies as novel as they are important. Modern Christendom is yet without adequate protection against Lord's Day lawlessness when conjoined with municipal misrule.

A TYPICAL SUBURBAN PERIL.

Here is a most interesting letter from a suburb of this proud city; and I read it without the names attached to it, although they are most honorable ones. Four pastors signed this appeal, a president of a Young Men's Christian Association, and a representative to the General Court.

"The undersigned, pastors of churches, President of the Young Men's Christian Association, and a representative to the General Court, earnestly unite in calling your attention to the Sunday peril as it touches us in a suburban town. The state of things here is alarming.

"We share in a peril now imminent in this State. An effort, supported by the press, and commended in his inaugural address by our Governor, is now making to relax our Sunday laws, under the plea that they should keep pace 'with the demands of the age.' The City Council of Boston has instructed its mayor to introduce at the State House a bill with the principle of local option in Sunday restrictions. Propositions this week are being laid before the Sunday Legislative Committee to authorize by law Sunday papers and Sunday sales and Sunday traffic in certain directions.

"The religious public is not aware of the strength of this movement provoked by the present enforcement of the Sunday law.

"We share in every peril incident to the looseness and corruption of a great city. Nearly our whole male population, and a large portion of our female population, spend eleven hours a day in Boston; and many have to do this *seven days* in the week instead of six. Our whole population, three miles from the city, are corrupted by whatever is corrupting in Boston. Give Boston local option liquor laws, and local option Sunday laws, and what will be the use of right voting on these questions in our town?

"We are at the mercy of the beach travel, as soon as it begins each season. Our horse-car lines in summer on the Lord's Day are always crowded; our drug-stores and horse-car stations find Sunday their best day. Here, as in

other towns, *pseudo* horse-car stations spring up as an excuse for promiscuous Sunday traffic. Sunday steam trains disturb the quiet of our churches, and have in five years doubled in number as they pass through our town. Boston Sunday papers are demoralizing even our church-going people, and increase their sales faster than the population.

"We have our own peculiar local perils. Opposite our churches in church hours, at car-stations and drug-stores, the common traffic of the week goes on. Merchandise, not merely medicines, but papers of the worst sort, cigars, beer, any thing sold on a week day, is sold Sunday, over the counter, in church hours, by young men to young men. Our children see it. We have to pass on the way to service crowds of boys and men around these corner drug-stores. Troops of bicycle riders on a Sunday morning dash past us as we enter church.

"We have seen boys and young men in considerable numbers leaving church and all holy influences to stand behind counters, to be horse-car conductors, railroad brakemen, to cry Sunday papers, to peddle brown bread and baked beans, and to sell milk. If a small part of this work is in the interests of necessity and mercy, nineteen-twentieths are in the interests of money-making, and minister to selfishness and irreligion.

"We find men absent from the house of God, and they say that they have to sleep to recover from a night on the 'Sunday Herald.' [I am not popular with Boston Sunday journals, and should not sleep well if I were.] (Applause.) We miss one and another from the sabbath school, and find them required to do Sunday work or give up positions. We have seen young men in revival seasons moved by the Spirit of God, and yet choosing an irreligious life because of the temptation of a Sunday salary. Some of us have been called to see in their last hours young men dying, who have plead with us to help them prepare to meet God; *and there on the verge of eternity* they have told us of absence for years from the holy influences under which they grew up, and of their bondage to this wretched work.

"We feel the peril in our churches of a low standard as to Sunday observance and of a selfish conscience and practice. The 'Sunday Herald' and the 'Sunday Globe' find a considerable part of their circulation in so-called Christian families.

"As citizens, as fathers, as Christian workers, and as Christian pastors, we see and we deplore these great evils. Souls are being ruined by this Sunday lawlessness."

This pathetic letter I read because its cry of pain is typical of the distress of thousands of towns in suburban localities. I might give names, and add greatly to the impression which the letter may have produced; but why give names? Does that document come from Lynn? No; but it represents the case of Lynn. Does it come from certain suburbs of Chicago? No; but it contains the story of those suburbs. Does

it come from the towns around San Francisco? No; but it describes their case. Does it come from the immense suburban populations of the country from sea to sea? It might come from them all, and rightly enough express their perils and the agony with which they seek deliverance.

Strikes are being organized in great centres. Workingmen, banded together in vast organizations, are sometimes led, indeed, by good advice from pastors. On the whole, I think the best arbitration society in the land is the Christian Church. But workingmen in great numbers are dropping off from the churches, and a reign of terror is being introduced in large centres. We do not know when railway traffic will be interrupted. We do not know when the longshoremen on the Hudson, or on these wharves, will walk out at the dictate of a delegate from some labor organization.

Is it not worth while for us to secure a long pull, and a strong pull, and a pull all together, for a law of rest for all, in order that we may secure the liberty of rest for each? (Applause.) That was Leonard Bacon's position on Sunday laws. In order that each man may have the liberty to rest, you must have the law of rest for all. And our experience here, to say nothing of that of Great Britain and the Continent, goes far to show that unless a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull all together is made, there can nothing very effective be done in executing unpopular Sunday laws.

CARELESSNESS OF CHURCH-MEMBERS.

It is important to notice that the extent of Lord's Day lawlessness is very large in certain unchurched circles in the very heart of enlightened commonwealths. You see little of it. You belong to the respectable classes; you are in your pews on Sunday, and you make your tours of observation in your benevolent activity, it may be, in the week days. But I know a New-England town where, not long ago, two workingmen undertook to "expose the Sunday saloons. They went about from place to place, and obtained legal evidence against some twenty saloon-keepers. They published it.

What was the effect? They were hooted at by their own comrades; they were stoned on the street. Five hundred, eight hundred, men came together in a mob to prevent these two workingmen from carrying out their plan of closing these saloons. Who were these opponents of the law? People who had had latch-keys to the saloons on Sunday. And the police found themselves unable to protect the informants; and the two men have left this town, a New-England city of fifty thousand inhabitants, and have gone to Canada. What are we to say when people are driven out of their own country, and not for their own country's good? I have heard of church-members in that town siding with the rioters against those two informers. I have heard of church-members also saying that the militia should have been called out, to have protected them, if necessary. (Applause.)

The Church is by no means without blame in this high matter. Examine the very elaborate report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor for 1885 on Sunday labor. You know how many years Col. Carroll D. Wright has been at the head of this great institution. You know how he has lately been most justly honored by being placed at the head of the National Bureau of Labor Statistics. I have time to cite only two sentences, but I would make them arrows aimed at the breast of every church-member here.

"To sum up the whole matter in brief, it can safely be asserted that all the facts, so far as ascertained, show that the inauguration and establishment of the Sunday local train system on the railroads which centre in Boston was wholly the work of church-going people; and that it was, also, for their convenience in going to special churches to which they had become attached. It was not called for, however, by any necessity in enabling them to attend upon the public worship of God."

"Briefly stated, church-going people for church-going purposes are the prime cause of the running of horse-cars on Sunday in this Commonwealth."

Even if you do not think the Toronto plan, or some approximation to it, practicable, in any case you should not be in favor of running horse-cars eighteen hours a day, and so managing them that the workingmen call them "man-killers." Sometimes two men in certain cities run one horse-

car sixteen, seventeen, and occasionally eighteen hours. For one, I think it is high time, in the name of the law against cruelty to animals, to call for a reform in this matter. (Applause.)

METHODS OF SUNDAY REFORM.

What are the remedies for these vast mischiefs of Lord's Day lawlessness?

1. Rally for rest.

By parlor, platform, press, pulpit, and police, let Sunday be defended as a day of exemption from toil. Fill the land with agitation of the right of every workingman to one day's rest in seven. The Women's Christian Temperance Union and several other societies issue able documents on this question. Dr. W. F. Crafts's noble volume, "The Sabbath for Man," is on the whole the most effective single book on Sunday observance that I have ever read. It is full of the very freshest facts, arranged on an extremely original plan.

2. Resist the insidious beginnings of Lord's Day lawlessness.

Imitate the workingmen of London and not those of Paris. When the workingmen of London were asked to assent to regulations which would have opened most of the museums of the great city of the Thames on Sunday, their representatives in Parliament resisted this proposition. Mr. Mundella and Mr. Broadhurst were against the opening of the British Museum on Sunday, as the beginning of misrule, as the commencement of an arrangement that would necessitate the working of large numbers of laborers on the Sabbath day. The workingmen of Paris favored the opening of all museums. But are the workingmen of Paris in the museums on Sunday? Go there and look for yourselves. They are in the factories; they are in the fields; they are in the mines; they are under the heel of avarice. Give up Sunday as a day of worship, and it is almost impossible to protect it as a day of rest.

3. Enforce Sunday closing of saloons.

If you will really carry out your Sunday laws in good faith, making a four-square execution of them against the liquor rings, you will find it necessary to carry out your laws against several other kinds of violators of Sabbath enactments. In Indianapolis lately the liquor-dealers were so much incensed by the execution of the law against their trade, that they formed a committee of one hundred to patrol the streets on Sunday, to cause the shutting up of all other places that were violating the Sunday laws. If you can thus stir up the liquor-dealers to assist you in carrying out the law against other violators, it will be lawful to accept help from that questionable quarter. (Applause.)

4. Let church-members be aroused to put forth their social, moral, and political power in defence of judicious Sunday laws.

We are called on by the Women's Christian Temperance Union to observe the third day of April as a period for the discussion of Sunday observance. Sermons are asked for on that day. Why would it not be well to ask for a week of prayer that we may make the Sundays of our land a delight? The ten million Protestant church-members in the United States can govern even city politics in this matter, if they will.

5. Let us instruct the masses in the value of both rest and worship.

Let us bring the whole population to the church and to the Sunday school. Thomas Jefferson, conversing on a quiet sabbath at Monticello with Daniel Webster, said to him, "The Sunday schools present the only legitimate means under the constitution of avoiding the rock on which the French Republic was wrecked." Thomas Jefferson was not a pinched fanatic, and was not commonly considered an extremist as to Sunday laws; but that was his opinion. And it coincides marvellously with that of President Hopkins: "Without the sabbath, free institutions cannot be preserved." (See the admirable essay by the Rev. W. C. Wood of Boston,

QUESTIONS.

Ought police matrons to be appointed in great cities?

Yes; for a multitude of reasons,—some of them reportable, but many of them utterly unreportable. Decency, the prevention of outrage, the protection of young girls, require the appointment of police matrons. You would drive me out at yonder door if I were to tell you the half which has come to my ears concerning outrages on unprotected young girls in various police-stations of the land—none of them in Boston, of course! I am not attacking the police. They are most of them magnificent men. We know how they gave their lives to support the law in Chicago against the anarchists. (Applause.) But there is every now and then a policeman, as there is every now and then a merchant or a sailor or a soldier or a minister or a lecturer, who is not a saint. If the truth must be told, there are utterly unspeakable moral reasons for appointing police matrons to do the work of caring for arrested women in police-stations in great towns. There were five thousand five hundred and seventeen arrests of women in this city in 1886.

Chicago has adopted the plan of police matrons; so have Baltimore, Philadelphia, Providence, St. Louis, Detroit, Montreal. The demand of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and of several other benevolent organizations which are forcing this grave theme on public attention, is that police matrons should be appointed, with full police authority. They should be subject to no one but the chief of police. The possibility of reforming many who are arrested has been illustrated again and again by most pathetic experience. Careful details have been given to me concerning the case of a woman who was forty-five times

arrested and treated in the usual way, but who, under kind treatment by women, reformed at last, and for six years has been leading an honest and industrious life. Resolutions are being carried to the Legislature of Massachusetts on this topic, and are to be defended by that queen of the platform, and of the Sanitary Commission of the civil war, — Mrs. Livermore.

What of Henry George and Father McGlynn?

They cannot be blessed or banned without sifting. Religion from Rome, not politics! (Applause.) That is the cry of the Roman Catholics in New York City to-day. That is a very dangerous sentiment in the Roman Catholic Church. Nevertheless, it is an opinion lately uttered with great emphasis by a vast mass meeting of Roman Catholic laymen. No interference from the Tiber with American political affairs! (Loud applause.) You are not very greatly opposed to this sentiment, and I for one hope it may grow in power. That is the chief significance of Father McGlynn's position. It is unfortunate that he holds many land heresies. For instance, he says that private property in land may be confiscated without any compensation to the owner. He thinks this is right. Mr. George has never published any thing quite as radical as that. His theories, pushed to their logical consequences, amount to the assertion, that all land, since it belongs of right to the whole people, may be confiscated, or taxed to its full value, so far as it is held in private ownership. He would partially compensate private owners, but the followers of Mr. George go farther than their master. If his vagaries prevail, there will appear in our politics in large numbers shallow and heated socialists and communists calling for a nationalization of the land without compensation to the owners. This, of course, would be nothing less than robbery. So far as Mr. George's and Father McGlynn's land heresies are concerned, I think they can all be whipped into shreds on the Ten Commandments and the multiplication table. (Laughter and applause.)

LECTURE II.

MODERN NOVEL OPPORTUNITY IN PHILOSOPHY.

GOD IN NATURAL LAW.

SUPPOSE that to-morrow morning the sun should rise inscribed across its face in letters brighter than its own light, and such as to be visible throughout the illumined half of the world, with the words, "Holy ! Holy ! Holy ! Lord God of hosts, who was, who is, and who is to come." Let this inscription be made intelligible in all languages and among all nations. One would think that under that awful light, as it passed over the continents and seas, and from people to people, the dusky tribes of heathendom would quit their idols at once ; that in the high marts of civilization, avarice, malice, and dishonesty, serpents writhing colossal in the hollow streets as in caves, would wither to ashes ; that literature, politics, and art, on all their frozen hills, would feel the approach of a vernal season beneath this touch of supernatural fire ; and that before the slanting rays had passed thrice around the globe, they would have peeled from off the burdened world something of the ulcerous growths of sin, and in time would turn into another channel the course of the dolorous and accursed ages.

To those who see with the secret eyes of science, the sun *is* thus inscribed ; and not the sun only, but every natural object, — the seas, the mountains, the forest arches, every lowliest violet, the human frame.

There is immense peril in allowing the popular mind to rest in a shrivelled, fragmentary teaching concerning natural law. The chief characteristic of our age is the progress of science, and the application of it to practical affairs. We

have a rationalistic, a materialistic, an agnostic philosophy ; and the people, under the lead of newspapers and many careless magazines, have been brought into a faith in natural law, and this veil hangs before the face of divine truth revealed in nature, and leaves the popular mind without the keen, close contact with God which I believe every clear thinker can have. The Omnipresence of the Divine Will in natural law needs to be proclaimed until all that anybody knows in this high matter of philosophy, everybody shall know.

NATURAL LAW A PROCESS, NOT A POWER.

It is too late for any man to talk in the language of the eighteenth century about natural law, because our sceptics, and many of our thorough-going infidels, now assert that God is behind natural law, and that wherever natural law presses upon us, the Divine personality touches us.

We cannot too often say, with Dr. Carpenter, that "the universe is governed not *by* natural law, but only *according to* natural law ;" nor with John Stuart Mill, that "natural laws do not account for their own origin ;" nor with Mansel, that "natural selection weeds, but does not plant ;" nor with Agassiz, that "natural law is only the constant method of the Divine activity ;" nor with Grove, that "causation is the will of God ;" nor with Martineau, that "matter is the negative condition of the Divine power ; force, its positive exercise ; life, its delegation under limits of necessity ; will, under concession of freedom. As all forces are convertible, and that, too, not by culmination into volition, but by reduction from volition, they are but God's mask, and can never be his competitors."

Wherever we find heat, light, electricity, we infer motion as the cause ; wherever we find motion, we infer force, and wherever we find force, we infer Spirit. The law which in science is now called that of the monogenesis of force is more completely expressed by the phrase the spiritual origin of force.

It is the pride of advanced theology, as well as of philoso-

phy, to teach in our time that "matter itself is simply the form in which some formative principle, which is force in its primary conception, and God in its ultimate, clothes itself." ("Old and New Theology," p. 57.)

The most suggestive single remark made to me on a tour of the world was that of Professor Lionel Beale of London, "What modern thought most needs is some one to upset natural law;" that is, to show that it is only a process, not a power, and that it is simply the fixed method of God's action.

OUTLINE OF PRESENT OPPORTUNITY IN PHILOSOPHY.

There is now a vast novel opportunity in philosophy.

1. To reach the whole world.
2. To upset superficial views of natural law.
3. To overthrow materialism.
4. To expose the absurdities of agnosticism.
5. To substitute the theistic theory of organic evolution for the atheistic theory of mechanical evolution.
6. To enlarge and perfect theistic realism.
7. To study man as a whole, mental, moral, and physiological.
8. To advance psychical research in the domain of occult forces.
9. To transform a false naturalism into a scientific natural supernaturalism.
10. To extend the knowledge of axiomatic ethics.
11. To show the full value of the verifiable, philosophical truths implied in the ordinary action of Conscience.
12. To show that the truths implied in the extraordinary action of Conscience in the regenerate soul and in the soul of Christ are a revelation of God.

DECLINE OF SPENCER'S PHILOSOPHY.

Here is Mr. Fiske, who some years ago championed Spencer's philosophy, but of late has made a great advance toward a really scientific theism. His new positions are not in full harmony with his earlier ones. His experience in

endeavoring to retain his Cosmic Spencerian philosophy reminds one of the story of "Alice in Wonderland." She saw a cat vanishing slowly, beginning with its tail, and ending with its grin, which remained sometime after the cat was gone. Several defenders of improved forms of the Spencerian philosophy show yet too much its influence; for, though the body has disappeared, the grimace remains. But Mr. Fiske now tells us that there are no second causes; that an omnipresent force, which science speaks of in definite terms as correlated with matter and with mind, produces all effects. This force, in guarded language, he would call God. He says Mr. Spencer holds this doctrine, and he tries to wrench out of the philosophy of evolution the idea of the Omnipresence of a personal God in natural law. He is not wholly clear or consistent in his assertion of the Divine personality; and yet he does assert this, and also the immortality of the soul, in language pathetically different from that he formerly employed.

"The materialistic assumption that . . . the life of the soul ends with the life of the body is perhaps the most colossal instance of baseless assumption that is known to the history of philosophy. . . . The doctrine of evolution does not allow us to take the atheistic view of the position of man. The Darwinian theory, properly understood, replaces as much teleology as it destroys. From the first dawning of life, we see all things working together toward one mighty goal, the evolution of the most exalted spiritual qualities which characterize humanity. . . . To deny the everlasting persistence of the spiritual element in man is to rob the whole process of its meaning. It goes far toward putting us to permanent intellectual confusion; and I do not see that any one has yet alleged, or is ever likely to allege, a sufficient reason for our accepting so dire an alternative. For my own part, therefore, I believe in the immortality of the soul, not in the sense in which I accept the demonstrable truths of science, but as a supreme act of faith in the reasonableness of God's work. . . . According to Mr. Spencer, the divine energy which is manifested throughout the knowable universe is the same that wells up in the human consciousness. Speaking for myself, I can see no insuperable difficulty in the notion, that at some period in the evolution of humanity this divine spark may have acquired sufficient concentration and steadiness to survive the wreck of material forms, and endure forever. Such a crowning wonder seems to me no more than the fit climax to a creative work that has been ineffably beautiful and marvellous in all its myriad stages." — *The Destiny of Man*, pp. 30-117.

"The whole tendency of modern science is to impress upon us even more forcibly the truth that the entire knowable universe is an immense unit, animated throughout all its parts by a single principle of life. . . . When from the dawn of life we see all things working together toward the evolution of the highest spiritual attributes of man, we know, however the words may stumble in which we may try to say it, that God is in the deepest sense a moral being. The everlasting source of phenomena is none other than the infinite Power that makes for righteousness." — *The Idea of God*, pp. 145, 167.

Here is Mr. Abbott, the leader of free religious thought some years ago. He now tells us that this universe is made on a plan; that it is infinitely intelligible; that we find pervading it the self-evident truths of the soul; and that, as infinitely intelligible, it reveals an Infinite Mind. He has come to be a devout theist, and this on scientific ground. I do not regard his scheme of thought as particularly novel, nor as wholly free from crudity, but it is an immense advance upon the position occupied a few years ago by men whom he represented. He speaks with little respect of Spencer's philosophy.

* "The doctrine of the 'Unknowable,' which has no foundation whatever except the theory of phenomenism, is the concentrated essence of unreason, if made itself the foundation of a philosophy; and, if this philosophy founded on nothing is then made the foundation of a religion, it becomes thereby the concentrated essence of superstition, the worship of the non-existent and the non-sensical. The great principle of the infinite intelligibility of the universe is the corner-stone of scientific theism." — *Scientific Theism*, pp. 124, 125.

NATURAL LAW IN THE SPIRITUAL WORLD.

Here is Mr. Drummond, whose book on Natural Law in the Spiritual World has attracted great attention, — not a book to be indorsed wholesale, — and who tries to prove the identity of natural law in the spiritual world and in the physical world. I think he fails in doing this, as President Magoun has shown in a very elaborate and searching article (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, July, 1885); but he does prove the analogy of these laws, and that analogy is most suggestive.

On what did Mr. Drummond found his philosophy? On

Professor Balfour Stewart's and Professor Tait's famous book, "The Unseen Universe." That volume is now seven or eight years old, and it stands at the head of a most promising movement in Scottish and British philosophy. I ask all who have read Drummond, and all who have noted the recent changes in the position of evolutionists in this country, all who have listened to the statement now so frequently made in authoritative quarters (see Professor Cope on Evolution), that organic evolution is coming to the front, and mechanical evolution dropping into the rear, to look at this book from two of the highest authorities in science. Professor Tait said once, in a meeting of British men of science, that Professor Tyndall could not define correctly the word "force." I have here a document which Professor Tait gave me, in which he ridicules the materialistic positions of a number of the old school of British evolutionists. This book began a movement in the British Isles, which is now represented by Drummond's book; and yet this book is not the head of the stream.

LAST BOOK OF LOTZE'S "MICROCOSMUS."

What is the head? If anybody here has not read the last five chapters, constituting the ninth book of Lotze's "Microcosmus," I advise that person to do it before he is a week older. Possibly you have not time to read every thing in the two volumes at once, although they are accessible now in English; but you can master immediately this last book — less than two hundred pages at the end of the second volume. Here Lotze reaches the height to which he carries up a spiral path through all the preceding pages, and there you will find a headland: you will come to a place where an original spring bursts forth. Professor Tait found most of the waters of his philosophy there. I insist upon it that our young men shall be led by the best, and not by the second best, authorities in philosophy.

You are told, or used to be told, by certain agnostic teachers of eminence, that personality cannot be attributed to

the Deity, because personality implies limitations. You open Lotze and read:—

“The longing of the soul to apprehend as reality the highest good which it is able to feel cannot be satisfied by or even consider any form of the existence of that good, except Personality. . . . Perfect Personality is in God only; to all finite minds there is allotted but a pale copy thereof. The finiteness of the finite is not a producing condition of this personality, but a limit and a hinderance of its development.”

“The notion of any active order necessarily and inevitably leads back to that of an ordering Being. The notion of a moral order leads further.”

“In the assertion of a dependence of the finite many upon the Infinite One, there is involved the assertion of a permanent relation of real to real.”

“The fact that there is a Cosmic Course, in which events are connected according to laws, must lead thought to the necessary unity of that which is the substantial basis of the world.”

“To us it seems inconceivable that spirit should arise from that which is not spirit, and inevitable that all unconscious existence and action should be regarded as an appearance, the form and content of which spring from the nature of spiritual life.”

“The only thing that is really good is the Living Love that wills the blessedness of others.”

“To us, too, as it was to Fichte, it is not doubtful, but most certain, and, indeed, the ground of all other certainty, that there is a Moral Order of the world; that for every intelligent creature there is an appointed place, and a work which he is expected to perform; and that every circumstance of his lot is part of a plan, in independence of which not a hair of his head can be harmed, nor a sparrow fall from the house-top; that every good action will succeed, and every evil action certainly fail; and that to those who do but truly love that which is good, all things shall work together for good.”

“Whatever the world may be in which Creative Love manifests itself, that world is undoubtedly devised as a whole by that Love.”

“The sphere of mechanism is unbounded, but its significance everywhere subordinate.”

“The true reality that is and ought to be is not matter, and is still less Idea, but is the living personal Spirit of God and the world of personal spirits which He has created.” — *Microcosmus*, vol. ii., pp. 659-729. Eng. Trans. Scribner & Welford, 1885.

BACK TO KANT.

That is not the head of the stream. I will not be pedantic enough to run back through Hegel, Schelling, and Fichte to Kant. You have heard much of these intermediary philosophers from the Concord school; but the cry in England, the cry on the Continent now is, “Back to Kant.” And

who was Kant? A man who planted his philosophy on self-evident truth; a man who was faithful to axiomatic propositions; a man who founded on the moral law revealed in the soul an inexpugnable faith in a Moral Lawgiver, in accountability, and immortality. These truths in modern times were first placed upon a strictly scientific basis by Immanuel Kant, Scotch and German in his descent, successor of David Hume, acquainted with all the scepticism of his time. The chief thing Lotze has done has been to broaden the ideas of Kant, and show that not merely in the conscience, but in all the faculties of the soul, God is present; and that from his pressure upon us we may learn, not only that he is, but, in some respects, what he is, and what he would have us to do. Lotze divides all the universe into three fields: that of facts, that of laws, that of worths. And the true, the beautiful, the good, each in its facts, its laws, its worths, are all revelations of the omnipresent God. Natural laws outside the soul, natural laws inside the soul — these are current revelations of the Personality above us, around us, and within us. This is ideal realism. This is also natural supernaturalism in philosophy.

BACK TO CHRIST.

Have we yet reached the highest fountain head in philosophy and ethics? What should be added to all that is now current in the schools, to bring us abreast of our opportunity? More than once on this platform I have ventured an assertion which is dear to me, because lying close to any religious life I may possess, that human nature can be understood only when studied in its one perfect example. There has appeared on earth once and but once a being who never committed sin. Christ was man at his climax. It is too late for you to doubt that there did appear in Palestine a perfect life; and I hold also that the sinlessness of Christ forbids his possible classification with man. Lotze himself has taught that God was in Christ as in no other soul.

Looking now not at all beyond the range of mere ethical

science, and not speaking from the point of view of revelation, I affirm that the soul of Christ must be taken as a lesson in the capacities of man, and that our philosophy does not reach the proper height until it shows us how we can harmonize all our faculties with Conscience on the plan on which they were harmonized in Christ's soul. We have this vast faculty in which God dwells though we do not obey it. But we must ultimately yield to it. We must ultimately secure peace with our own souls, if we are to be delivered from perdition, which comes from the war of faculty upon faculty forever. There is no possibility of peace, except in the Imitation of Christ. The human soul, with every faculty at its best, can be harmonized with itself only by that Imitation. In the foremost circles of philosophical and ethical inquirers, the cry now is *Back to Kant*. I hope it will not seem too bold, if, in the name of philosophy and ethical science, I seriously supplement this watchword by the cry, *BACK TO CHRIST*, who was man at his climax. I maintain that in scholarly ethics, and in philosophy, strictly so called, the time has come to proclaim that the Christ-like is the natural, and that nothing else can be. (Applause.)

A COSMOPOLITAN FAITH.

The Greek colonists, no matter how far away from Athens, always felt themselves in their native country, whenever they could hear the plays of Sophocles, Euripides, and Æschylus. On the rude coasts of Gaul and Thrace, in northern Italy and in Sicily, a Greek would listen to these plays; and then, leaving the popular assembly, he would smite the Greek shields hung on the door of the temples, and call out, "Fatherland!" "Fatherland!" Just so the Christian citizen of the modern world, wherever the Bible is found in the place of honor in any assembly, whether here or on the Ganges, whether on the Amazon or on the Hoang-ho, ought to bring forth the resonance of that shield and say, "Fatherland!" "Fatherland!" (Applause.) But there are two Bibles, not of equal authority, nor of equal vividness in their revelation.

There is a Bible of self-evident truth, on which all philosophy, all science, all theology, at the last analysis stands. Wherever philosophy based on self-evident propositions carries itself up to the height of modern opportunity, and teaches that only the Christ-like is the natural in the human spirit, and that therefore the Imitation of Christ is to be made a doctrine of modern ethical science, strictly so called, there I would have every man who reveres evidence, and has aspirations for the progress of humanity, stand and smite the shield of self-evident truth, and say, "Fatherland!" "Fatherland!" In life and death and beyond death, wherever self-evident truth is present, our Fatherland is not absent. This philosophy I would make a cosmopolitan faith.

"Earth so huge and yet so bounded, pools of salt, and plots of land,
Shallow skin of green and azure, chains of mountains, grains of sand, —

Surely He who made us meant us to be mightier by and by,
Set the sphere of all the boundless heavens within the human eye,

Sent the shadow of Himself, the boundless, through the human soul,
Boundless inward in the "Conscience, "boundless outward in the Whole."

TENNYSON.

(Applause.)

III.

MODERN NOVEL OPPORTUNITY IN
THEOLOGY.

WITH A PRELUDE ON

THE INDIAN AS A POLITICAL CRIPPLE.

THE 189TH LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP,
DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE, FEB. 21, 1887.

BOSTON HYMN.

LOVE OF LOVE.

SUNG AT TREMONT TEMPLE, FEB. 21, AT THE ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-NINTH BOSTON MONDAY LECTURE.

1. Love of love, so vast its grasp,
Only God can round it clasp ;
Only He can still us quite,
Hungering for the Infinite.
2. Duty done ! the soul's Fireside,
Blest who makes its Ingle wide ;
He who hath it hath no chill,
And may have it whoso will.
3. Toss we must, and toss we ought,
Until to that Ingle brought ;
Bliss hath he, and only he,
Who in God becometh free.
4. Inly always shall rejoice,
Whoso loves the still small Voice.
Solitude's hushed secret what ?
Solitude existeth not.
5. Good is love, but better Who
Giveth love its power to woo.
Radiant more His face must be,
Who transfigureth land and sea.
6. Earth's vexed ages, lonely I,
Healing have in loyalty ;
As God's pulses past us throng,
Be their sound our marching song.

JOSEPH COOK.

INVOCATION.

WE thank Thee, our Father in heaven, that Thou hast made us for Thyself, and that we cannot rest until we rest in Thee. Hast Thou not also made families for Thyself, and nations for Thyself, and all mankind for Thyself; and is it not true of Thy whole spiritual creation, that it cannot rest until it finds a place in Thy bosom? Wilt thou overturn and overturn, until the poor and the oppressed shall everywhere be sheltered, the ignorant taught, the defective made whole, the delinquent brought to their right minds, and the dangerous curbed. We thank Thee for Thy chastisements of men and nations. As Thou hast wrought deliverance for the slave, so wilt Thou protect all who suffer injustice. Deliver Thou us from the sin of submitting to rulers who do not submit to Thee. Wilt Thou, in the great furrows Thy wrath has opened in our land, sow the seed of immense reforms, and cause it to bring forth fruit sixty and an hundred fold, for Thine own sake. Amen.

PRELUDE III.

THE INDIAN AS A POLITICAL CRIPPLE.

THE usual great audience was present at the one hundred and eighty-ninth Boston Monday lecture. Several members of the Boston Committee on Indian Reform accompanied Bright Eyes (Mrs. Tibbles) and Mr. Tibbles to the platform. The Rev. Dr. A. J. Gordon presided. The hymn entitled "Love of Love" was sung by the audience, under Mr. T. H. Ryder's leadership at the organ. Mr. Russell Sturgis, jun., offered prayer. The audience passed an unanimous vote of thanks to Bright Eyes for her eloquent and instructive paper. Miss Frances E. Willard, who was present, was called to the platform by the audience, and made a brief but impressive address.

INDIANS NEITHER CITIZENS NOR FOREIGNERS.

THE Indian, under American law, is a political cripple. The negro is not. He has become a citizen, and has the

protection of the courts, and, if necessary, of the army. The Chinaman is not. He is a foreigner, and has a place of refuge under the broad shield of international law and special treaties. But the Indian is neither a foreigner nor a citizen. With very few exceptions, which this morning I am not to regard, as they are so insignificant, it must be asserted that the Indian on his reservation cannot make contracts except by the intervention of political agents, who usually cheat him, and has no direct access to the courts, and cannot have, and this because he is not a citizen. Inside the reservations, the Indians can obtain redress in our courts neither as tribes nor as individuals. The result is, that, after a century of dishonor incurred by our injustice toward the Indian tribes, the red man is yet the victim of plunderers and blunderers. And the somnolent watch-dogs of public opinion sleep in presence of these evils, perhaps chiefly because the Indians are few, only two hundred and fifty thousand or three hundred thousand; and yet the dogs sleep each with one eye open, because, although few, the Indians are officered by agents who have opportunity to make immense gains. The Indian is in politics because the Indian service is a large pocket in the national grab-bag.

A large portion of the secular press has done noble service in the last ten years in exposing injustice to the red men, and yet certain journals have made themselves infamous by concealing or excusing the crimes of Indian rings. I suppose both political parties have been more or less directly responsible for large injustice to the Indian within the last ten years. I am not here to attack either party, or to white-wash either party, but to tell the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, on a platform which has no political allegiance to maintain, except to the God who governs in politics, it is to be hoped, as well as in religion.

INSUFFICIENCY OF THE DAWES LAW.

Why is not the Dawes law enough to protect the Indians, now that the President's signature has made it one of the national statutes?

My answer to this question is that the Dawes law is likely to be put on the shelf by a suit in the Supreme Court. The new enactment, for which the nation and the red men owe so large a debt of gratitude to our Massachusetts senator, confers the right of citizenship on all Indians who take up land in severalty on the allotment system. Very true, this is law ; but until its constitutionality has been tested, and all the delays its powerful opponents can secure have been tided over, that law will produce no effect in relieving the mischiefs that are now so exacerbated and yet so rapidly growing on our frontier. It is true that the friends of Indian reform were well united in support of the Dawes bill. They are united now for its execution. But it was said to you frequently a year ago and earlier, it was said to you repeatedly by Senator Dawes in his final speeches in support of his own bill, that it is only a beginning.

We want more than the Dawes bill for several reasons : —

1. It does not repeal the intercourse laws, nor any part of the system which has made for us a century of dishonor.

2. Except that notoriously corrupt system, it provides no form of government for Indians on a reservation.

3. It creates a trust fund in the lands of the Indians, and provides no way to administer that trust except under political rings at Washington.

4. It still leaves the Indian-school funds in the control of politicians.

5. It offers no easily available means of securing the building of roads and bridges and taking other initiatory steps in developing the land belonging to the Indians.

6. It provides no way, not even through an agent or court, by which owners of the Indian lands can derive any income from them.

7. It leaves the Indian question yet wholly inside politics.

PROFESSOR THAYER'S PROPOSED NEW INDIAN BILL.

Why is the proposed new Indian bill to be supported ? That is my central question this morning ; and my reply

must be brief; for you are to be addressed by the leaders of Indian reform, and I am, as it were, only their echo.

1. One of the best *prima facie* reasons for the support of the proposed new Indian bill is its origin. It comes from the oldest, the most experienced, the best-tested Indian committee in the United States. Who are they? Some of them are present this morning, and must pardon me if, in defending their proposal, I recite their history. I give it, however, with the highest appreciation of the work done by other committees and associations in the field of Indian affairs.

In 1879, Mr. Tibbles, whose name has so long been honorably connected with this beleaguered cause, had closed a career of five years as a tent missionary on the frontier, in regions in which he had become profoundly interested in the Indian tribes. He had previously broken up a nearly completed college course in Ohio in order to enter the service of the Government in a sphere of activity where he constantly imperilled his life. It was natural for him to expose himself in defence of the oppressed red race. He brought a suit before Judge Dundy, and it was decided by that eminent legal authority that the red man has such rights that the *habeas corpus* avails even in the case of an Indian who is not a citizen. This was the first decision of the sort in our entire history. It was made in March, 1879.

BRIGHT EYES AND WENDELL PHILLIPS.

It was the fortune of your present speaker to cross the continent on the way to the Yosemite Valley in June of that year, and one of his most interesting experiences was meeting in Omaha that noble lady whom the nation knows as Bright Eyes, and who now is Mrs. Tibbles. (Applause.) I was introduced first to Bright Eyes by Mr. Tibbles; and it will, I hope, not be improper for me to say that I expected a marked career for her and for him. I did not say to them, "Go West," but "Go East, young man" (laughter); "go East, young woman." There was no merit in this. I knew that Mr. Phillips was living in Boston. (Applause.)

In this Tremont Temple, in August, 1879, with Mr. Phillips on the platform, the first Indian committee was organized in the eastern portion of the country. Dr. Lothrop was its first chairman. My dear friend the Rev. Mr. Sherrill of Omaha, and Bishop Clarkson, had formed a committee for the defence of the Poncas; and they and General Crook had given Mr. Tibbles and Bright Eyes proper letters of introduction to the East. This committee was re-organized in November, 1879, with his Honor Mayor Prince as chairman. Gov. Long was for a short time chairman, and several times has addressed public assemblies in its behalf. Its treasurer is the distinguished publisher, Mr. H. O. Houghton; its indefatigable secretary is the philanthropist, Mr. W. H. Lincoln. In its membership are such honored names as Edward Everett Hale, Professor James B. Thayer of the Harvard Law School, Frank Wood, Hon. Rufus S. Frost, A. L. Coolidge, J. W. Davis, Hon. E. I. Thomas, Hon. J. F. C. Hyde, J. Boyle O'Reilly, J. S. Lockwood, Rev. Dr. R. R. Meredith, Rev. C. L. Woodworth, Mrs. Mary Hemenway, Mrs. D. A. Goddard, Mrs. S. H. Bullard, Mrs. L. T. Hooper, Mrs. W. W. Goodwin, Miss Alice Longfellow (daughter of the poet), and Miss Alice Jones.

WORK OF THE INDIAN COMMITTEE OF BOSTON.

Now, what has this committee done? Four things which are very memorable.

First, it attempted to settle in the courts the question of protection for tribal property. It secured a restoration of the Poncas to their lands.

Next, it procured a decision from the Supreme Court of the United States as to the meaning of the fourteenth amendment. Four years were consumed in this effort. It was decided that this amendment does not make the Indian a citizen.

The committee afterwards advocated the Dawes severalty and citizenship bill. It is now a law.

And lastly, face to face with the newest aspects of the In-

dian question, the committee has employed Professor James B. Thayer of the Harvard Law School to draw up a new bill to complete the scheme of legislation initiated by the Dawes law. This work has occupied over a year. Professor Thayer's eminent legal ability has been devoted to it, and he has had expert legal assistance in Washington and New York. The result is a plan which Professor Thayer first made public in outline at a meeting at Worcester one week ago yesterday.

Already it has stirred up several apologists for the Indian rings, to make severe attacks upon both the proposed bill and its author and all its friends. And yet I am here this morning to give you an outline of that bill, and to ask you to do what? Not to vote on it here and now, but to meditate on it. There are certain details of the bill that have not yet been perfected, but its chief purport is thoroughly settled. It is a large task to draw a bill covering this whole field, as it is now proposed to cover it, with a proposition essentially novel, and indeed a little revolutionary, although strictly according to the principles of American law. I am to outline the general principles of the bill, and I do most heartily give them my personal support, asking no one here to be responsible for my position. They are most heartily supported by the Boston Indian Committee, whose history I have given you, and by Mr. Tibbles and Bright Eyes. The proposed new bill thus unites in its support the oldest, most approved and experienced Indian committee, and the representatives of the Indians themselves, and also the most eminent legal ability that has ever been applied to the question of Indian reform. As having this origin, it is surely entitled to a respectful hearing, not only from the public at large, but in Congress, where it is to be introduced at the next session.

CHIEF REASONS FOR NEW PROPOSALS.

2. The new bill enables the Indian to claim and defend his own in the courts, according to the principles of natural

justice. It does this whether he is inside or outside a reservation. It gives him all the rights of a white man in the courts, and this whether he takes up land in severalty or not.

3. It enables the Indian to make contracts, and so to do business, and so to become self-supporting; and all this whether he has taken up land in severalty or not, or is inside or outside a reservation.

4. The new bill gives the Indian a responsible government under the United States circuit courts, and not under a set of corrupt Indian rings governed chiefly by political motives.

5. It bases itself upon the recent decision of the Supreme Court that the Indians are "the wards of the nation," and proposes that they shall be treated as any other wards would be; that is, placed under the care of trustees appointed by and responsible to the courts.

6. It appoints trustees through the circuit courts of the United States, and amenable to this Court, to handle the trust funds of the Indians; that is, their lands, annuities, and what is due to them from the Government.

7. It provides that the school funds of the Indians shall be governed by the same laws as the other school funds of the States and Territories where the Indians reside.

8. It takes the whole Indian question out of politics. (Loud applause.)

HELPLESSNESS OF THE INDIANS BEFORE THE LAW.

If you had no right to make contracts, how could you do business? How can a man walk without feet, or work without hands? The Indian is tied to a reservation, and receives food and garments from political agents. So far as clothing is concerned, he is furnished with blankets only by the Government. Not many months ago I met a noble Indian teacher in the Haskell Indian Institute at Lawrence, Kansas. He was yet a young man, and had been educated thoroughly well, and was training a large number of Indian youths. I saw him instructing his classes, and had as much respect for

him as for any teacher I ever saw in a similar place. What invitation had he lately received from his own people? He had been told by the chiefs of his tribe, that, if he would return and subject himself to the tribal arrangements, he might have three wives! He might have gone back, and in a little while he might have had only blankets to wear. The educated Indians go back to the reservations; their civilized clothes wear out, and in a little while they have only blankets. They are uneasy. It is true that educated young Indians, with no career before them, are among the most uneasy, and some of them, I fear, among the most dangerous and explosive, of the Indian population. Are we to demand the abolition of the Indian schools because of those results? By no means. On the contrary, we are to call out for the abolition of that system of Indian rings, and enforced idleness and isolation for the Indian, that keeps him in the condition of an anchored vagabond on the land of his fathers. The Indian has proved his high natural capacity to profit by education. No well-informed observer ever doubted it. Gen. Crook said to me in Omaha, that the Indian, in his opinion, has higher native endowments than the negro or the poor white. The advance of civilization westward has occupied the hunting-grounds of the Indian, and made a nomadic life impracticable. His former occupation gone, and a new one not learned; his tribal government itself disintegrating, and sound laws not taking its place, he is in a transitional period of utmost peril. He is not only a cripple, but in a certain sense a pauper; for, being unable to go before the courts and to make contracts, he is incapable of self-defence, and so, substantially, of self-support. Here under your political rule is a condition of things anomalous and atrocious, or, as Professor Thayer says, with all his legal caution, absurd and monstrous.

The flag which floats over the State House yonder protects the swarthiest negro on the Southern plantations, and the yellowest Mongolian in the slums of this city or of San Francisco. Up to the passage of the Dawes law, it did not

protect this daughter of a chief (Bright Eyes). She was not a citizen, but only a thing. She is, however, but one of a very few who have been made citizens by the Dawes law. Are you willing that such a state of affairs should continue? Are you not ready to do your utmost to wash out this blot on our national ensign (loud applause), and make it a protection for all the despised races, whether black or yellow or red? The chief danger to the national honor is not from the red savages, but from the white savages of the frontier, and of the political rings in Washington. (Laughter and applause.)

CIVIL SERVICE RULES FOR INDIAN AGENTS.

Of course, I am not here to oppose any suggestions which have come from high quarters in the circles of Indian reformers, especially of the Mohonk Conference or of the Philadelphia Indian Association. There is a demand rising for the immediate application of the rules of civil service reform to the appointment of Indian agents. The Mohonk Conference, in a document I hold in my hand, asks for this measure; and it appears to me a most eminently sensible suggestion. Why not appoint Indian agents after examination, as we are now beginning to appoint great numbers of the officers in our civil service? Personal political patronage is as mischievous in the Indian service as elsewhere, and, indeed, far more so, because less under public observation. I am not denying the efficiency of many minor measures; but I am convinced that this new bill, fundamental as it is and radical in many particulars, is the only measure that will be both efficient and sufficient to bring to an end more than a century of dishonor. (Applause.)

I have now the great pleasure and honor of introducing Bright Eyes, not for the first time to a Boston audience. (Loud applause.)

ADDRESS BY BRIGHT EYES.

AN Indian tribe is divided into bands. A band is composed of families; and the genealogies are kept so exactly, that in some bands there are only a few families, and in others there are a great many, according as they diminish or increase during the years. Each band is represented by a chief, and these chiefs represent the men of their bands in council. The council governs the conduct of the tribe in its relations with other tribes or nations, decides questions in dispute, and pronounces sentences of punishment for crimes. The penalty for murder was usually banishment. If the crime was not an aggravated one, the banishment was usually only three or four years. The punishment for stealing was a fine, the thief being compelled to restore twice the value of what he stole to the one he stole from. The stealing of horses from other tribes was a tribal affair, and was a part of war, and was done only to those with whom a tribe was at war.

The executive power was vested in the Soldiers' Lodge, which was a powerful organization. It executed all the orders of the council. Rules were made with regard to hunting and the war-path, and to resist the officers in the enforcement of these rules was often death to the one who disobeyed or resisted. There were two men in our tribe who broke the hunting-laws. They were flogged so severely, that one of them died, and the other became half-paralyzed and lost his mind. He died only a few years ago. They had discovered a herd of buffalo; and instead of going back to tell the proper authorities, so that all the men of the tribe might join in the chase, they scared the whole herd away just to get a few. A tribe might be starving, and their very existence might depend on getting a herd of buffalo. One of my earliest memories is that of seeing my father making arrows when it was time for the tribe to start on the hunt.

When we were on the hunt, the tribe camped in a great circle in the order of bands and families, and each member of a family had his or her own regular place in the tent. When a calamity occurs in a family, the members of the band make up to them what they have lost. One of the families on our reserve was burned out by a prairie fire in the night. A house and barn were lost, and the value of them was made up by the band. Another family, camped in a valley, were struck by a waterspout, and the tent was swept away, and the grandmother was drowned; and the band gave the head of the family seven horses, where he had had none before. It is thus evident that the Indian tribes had an effective government, adapted to the life they lived, before the white people interfered with them; and, on the whole, it was a happy sort of life we lived. I have only happy memories of it.

There came a time when my tribe had to submit to the Government. It had never been at war with the Government; but the Government wanted the Omahas' land. The Omahas consented to sell the land on which Omaha City now stands to the Government, and made a treaty with it, and *then* the Government assumed the control of the Omaha tribe. The Omahas moved to their reserve, which was in the north-eastern part of Nebraska, on the Missouri River, eighty miles north of Omaha City. The reserve was thirty miles long and fifteen miles wide. Then the Government gave us an agent, clerks, trader, carpenter, blacksmith, and miller. These made a little society of their own, and they never dreamed of entering into the lives of the people, and were ignorant, even when they had lived on the reserve for years, that the Indians had a society of their own, into which they would not have been received. All these employees looked down on the Indians as inferior. They were paid their salaries from the money for which the Omahas had sold their land. The Omahas had nothing to say about it, or as to who should be employed. Would it not seem queer to you, if you sold something valuable, and the one you had sold it to should spend the money he owed you as he saw fit, and you had nothing to say or do about it, and not even be allowed to know how it was spent? As ignorant as the Indians were, — and by their ignorance I mean their ignorance of reading, writing, and speaking the English language, — they knew that these people were hired with their money; and when these white people made fun of their ignorance and helplessness, and they spoke of them as they would of dogs, and their remarks were repeated by some one who knew both languages, how do you think they felt? Self-respect and the emotions of the heart do not depend on education or civilization; and I think are often all the stronger in man's primitive condition, even to the love of the parent for the child.

I do not remember when the Omahas first moved to the reserve, — I was too young; but I remember when we went on the buffalo-hunts every winter and summer. The tribe lived in two villages on the reserve when they were not on the hunt. My father was the head chief, and took an active part in all the affairs of the tribe. By and by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions started a mission-school on our reserve, and my father sent me there to school; but I still went with the rest on the hunts in the summer.

We had all sorts of men for our agents, — smart men, and stupid men; bad, low men, and men who may have been good, but we did not have any chance to find out, because they did not come into personal contact with the Indians. And then, too, the average length of an agent's term was two years. Sometimes they staid through an administration, — four years. Sometimes we had two or three agents in a year. It was all a political arrangement; and, if it happened that a good man was an agent, he did not have much chance to do any thing, if he wanted to. *You* know how much likelihood there would be of good in any thing managed by politicians. There were infidels, who made fun of the missionaries connected with the little mission-school; and this had its effect on those of the Indians who were conservative, and did not want to have any thing to do with the missionaries, or to give up their old customs. There were agents who spent nearly the whole time in hunting, and only did the financial part of the

business with the Government; and there were men who interfered in all domestic affairs of the tribe, and whose interference only produced evil. If they wanted the Omaha chiefs to sign away any part of their land, or to sign vouchers for things they had not received, and they would not, they deposed them from office, and put others in their place who would. If an Indian wrote to the Department of some wrong done by an employee, or by the agent, the Department sent the letters back to the agent or employee; and the agent could make his displeasure felt by the Indian who sent it. So, you see, there was no redress for any outrage that might be committed. If an Indian rebelled at any indignity put upon him, he was liable to be reported to Government as a bad Indian, likely to make trouble; and, as often as not, he was put in the block-house.

An Indian is as ambitious as any other man. You have men among you who are ambitious to be a mayor, a governor, congressman, or President. Sometimes your men spend large sums of money in order to obtain places or positions. Indians have the same ambition. One of the things the Government did in our tribe, and in others also, was to take the "Soldiers' Lodge" under its control. The soldiers were given uniforms, and five dollars a month. A white man was appointed captain. They were to help the Government control the tribe. The men gradually came to see that their positions and offices depended on the agent, and not on any thing that they themselves could do; and that there was no need for them to work for the good of the tribe, and thus *earn* an honorable position, when they could easily have all they wanted by *fawning* on the agent.

Do you see the degradation commencing?

When a young, energetic, ambitious man saw a man who had lived a good and honorable life deposed because he refused to do as the agent wished, and a cringing, worthless fellow, whom every one despised, put in his place, what do you think would be the effect on him and on his character?

The young people began to put the authority of the chiefs at naught. The bad ones began to do boldly things that were wrong, when they knew their own tribal government could not punish them, as it had formerly; and they knew it was nothing to the agent, whether they did wrong or not, even if he ever came to know of it.

When I was a little child, some of the Omahas got into the habit of drinking; and it got to be so bad, that the tribe determined to put a stop to it, and made a law that any one who got drunk should be flogged. The first one who broke the law was taken and hung by both wrists on a cross-bar, and flogged. That was the last case of public drunkenness in the tribe. (Loud applause.) A brutal punishment you may think, but it saved a great deal of misery in a great many families; and its effect was such that although I have lived all my life on the reserve, with the exception of two years that I spent at Miss Read's school in New Jersey, after I was eighteen, and the two or three winters I spent here about eight years ago, I never saw an Omaha drunk in my life. (Applause.) The first drunken man I ever saw was a white man, after I came East.

In 1871, while I was going to school in Elizabeth, N.J., the villages were broken up, and the Omahas took up farming, and lived on lands in severalty,

as it is called. My father was the one who had brought this about. He had advocated citizenship as far back as I can remember. For the last fifteen years the Omahas have been living on lands in severalty, earning the money for the clothes they wore, and the food they ate. It has been a hard struggle for them to live. Many of them had only small ponies to break land, and some of them have none. They have few implements to work with. And all this time Congress has been appropriating twenty thousand dollars a year to support the Omahas. They have received no rations or clothing. They have been self-supporting during all those years, and yet the Government says the Indian cannot take care of himself.

The Omahas are in a half-starved condition, and have been for years. But that has not been their fault. They have had no chance to do or be any thing better. They have had no chance to see any better homes than their own, or any higher life than their own. What little they know of farming they have learned in the face of great obstacles, of great disadvantages, and in spite of the political system which controls them.

As to the educational part of this system, to give one or two illustrations, a superintendent of the Government boarding-school on our reserve, which was started a few years ago, told an Indian woman who had children at the school, that "a white man required a big salary to teach dogs and niggers." He used such vile language that the Indian men were ashamed to tell what he said, as being too bad to repeat to me, a woman. And when the fathers of the children wrote again and again to the department, of the sort of man in whose care they were compelled to place their children, do you think it had any effect? Not a bit. He was a politician from a county in our State, who rendered some political services that had to be paid with an office. I have heard of schools on other reserves that are worse than any we ever had on our reserve; but what is the use of multiplying illustrations? Is it not enough to say that the physical, moral, and spiritual welfare of human beings is placed under the entire control of politicians?

I suppose many of you thought that it was for the good of the Indian that he was shut up on a reserve, and given agents, clerks, doctors, carpenters, superintendents, farmers, millers, and that all this costly machinery for governing him was set in motion. Did you suppose that these politicians and employees were showing forth to the Indians, in the lives they lived, how to be industrious, honest, brave, generous, truthful, and pure? We had a carpenter who is remembered principally for swearing at the Indians when they brought him broken farm implements to repair, which was what he received his salary for.

I suppose you have wondered why the Indians have not been civilized. What civilization was there for them to see and copy? All the good there has been for them to see has been what the few missionaries have had to show them, and many tribes have had no missionaries at all. Then there are opposing elements where there are missionaries. The Government doctor on our reserve took the pains once to try to prove to some of the Indians that men do not have souls.

I suppose some of you think that the law keeping all white people off a reserve was a good one. It is against the law for any white man to go on an

Indian reserve. If he goes there, the agent can have him arrested and put him off; and, if he goes the second time, he can be sent to the penitentiary. Perhaps the law was made originally to protect the Indian. How does it work? The effect of it has been that the lowest class of white men, such as tramps, can go on a reserve without any interference, and even live there. They are ignorant, and not likely to make any trouble for the agent; and the agent does not pay any attention, even if he knows they are on a reserve. But if an intelligent man comes there, who might report what he sees, then it is considered necessary to enforce the law. Even the laws made for the good of the Indians have done mischief when the administration of these laws has been placed in the hands of politicians. I think the law in itself is a bad one, because it has denied to the Indian the great teacher of life, experience. What harm can it do an Indian to let a hard-working, industrious white farmer live side by side with him? It would be a valuable object-lesson for the Indian in economy and thrift, and easier and quicker ways of doing their work than they have now. As it is, the Indian has no chance to know of any thing better than the life he lives now.

Of late years boys and girls have been sent from our tribe to Hampton and Carlisle. They stay three or four years, and then come back to the reserve. Their experience has been more pitiful than any thing else that I have seen on our reserve during the last five years. Some of them have come back with high hopes and courage, and every desire that has been roused in them to do good to their people. What is there on the reserve to help them realize their hopes? There is no society on the reserve for them to go into. Some of them have learned trades. How are they going to work at their trades? There are no places where they can hire out and earn money? Their fathers and mothers are poor, and with the work they do on their farms can barely get enough to eat. There is nothing for them to do but live just as they did before they went to school. When they wear out the decent clothes they bring from Hampton or Carlisle, they have to put up with what they can get, and sometimes barely have enough to cover them. I have believed that no good done to any human being is ever lost; but it is hard for me to see, in this case, *how* they are going to make use of what they have received.

But there has been one great good in this education of the Indians at Hampton and Carlisle; and that is, that it has taught the white people that the Indians can be educated, and that they have the capacity for living as high and noble a life as any white people. But it has seemed strange to me that it *had to be proved* that a human being is a human being before it was believed. (Applause.) Why has it taken such a long time for your people to act upon that belief? You will have to act upon that belief before *your Government* can be brought to act upon it. Do you not see that it is really in the hands of you people whether the evils I have been speaking of shall exist any longer?

We want to abolish the Indian Bureau. I have seen people smile when I have said that. I suppose it does seem ridiculous that such helplessness should talk of abolishing a powerful organization handling millions of dollars a year for the *benefit* of the Indians, and backed by a great government, and

by that class of well-meaning persons who say that an Indian should be fed and clothed by the Government. One of the worst injuries you can do to a human being is to feed and clothe him for nothing when he is capable of earning his own food and clothes. (Loud applause.) But does the Government feed and clothe them? Just look at my own tribe. We are all poor on our reserve. Some of us have barely enough to eat; and yet we have some of the finest land in Nebraska. Each head of a family has one hundred and sixty acres; minors, eighty acres; and children, forty. But some families have no horses, some have no implements. There are widows who have no husbands to work their land for them. Here is one case of a woman, a widow, with eight or nine children. She has seven hundred acres of land. She was so poor when her husband died, that the missionaries had to pay for her husband's coffin; and since his death she has lived from house to house on charity. This woman can talk English, and she has all her children to educate. If she could take her land and rent it, she could have a home of her own, she could educate her children, and live comfortably from year to year till she died. But the Government says that an Indian cannot rent a foot of his land. Just compare the life she is living with the life she might live if she could have what is her right!

As I told you, we are poor, and some of us do not get enough to eat. But we are also rich. The Omahas number twelve hundred. They are to-day worth seventeen hundred dollars *per capita*, in property and annuities due us from the Government. Think of it! Each man, woman, and child on our reserve is worth that; and we do not get a dollar of it, and a good many of us in a half-starved condition during most of the time. This is only one illustration of the way the Government, or the politicians, have handled our money for us, handled it so that we get nothing. We want to do away with all that. We want to fix it so that each individual shall have what belongs to him, and have all the chances of making the most of his life that all other human beings have. We cannot do that without abolishing the whole Indian system. It is a formidable work, to try to destroy a monstrous evil; but it must go. God would not be God, if an evil like this could not be destroyed. It is an evil, because it is destroying and degrading human souls. It is degrading a people who have the capacity for the highest that life can bring, and who have had only a chance at the lowest. It is a question of the very existence of my people. Some of the men of the tribe say that the Omahas are worse than they used to be, and getting worse all the time. When I left our reserve, there was not even a *form* of government there. The missionaries kept saying, "Something *must* be done." Yes, something *must be done*; and you, the people, are the only ones that can do any thing in this crisis. It ought to be a privilege to help even one human being to live a better life. (Applause.)

QUESTIONS.

Ought the Dependent Pension Bill to be passed by Congress over the President's veto?

No; for that veto, according to the general voice of the people, including the veterans of the Civil War themselves, is the bravest and wisest act of the present Administration. (Applause.) (See the journal "Public Opinion," for Feb. 19, 1887.) Your opinion is worth noticing, and will be noticed. Mine is hardly worth reciting; but I must justify my position by saying that this dependent pension bill proposes to give pensions to all "honorably discharged soldiers and sailors who are now disabled and dependent on their own labor for support, whether they were injured in the war, or have been injured since so as to become dependent." Naturally enough the President thinks such an arrangement would be a premium on shiftlessness, and would cost the nation an enormous sum not easily calculable in advance of experience. Our constitution gives the President ten days to meditate on a bill before he expresses his opinion concerning it; and during those ten days the press of the land, Republican and Democratic, substantially vetoed this bill. As an echo of the national heart, the veto is likely to prevail. (Applause.)

Ought the present relations of the Women's Christian Temperance Union to the Knights of Labor to be encouraged?

Yes; for they are the relations of Christian courtesy and of philanthropic alliance in great reforms which have practically unanimous support from all conscientious people. The Women's Christian Temperance Union is the noblest organization of women known to history. There are more than two hundred thousand paying members in it; and there is

not a political party in the land, except one, that is not afraid of it. (Applause.) I suppose the Knights of Labor are the most important industrial organization ever formed among workingmen, and there is not a political party in the United States that is not afraid of it. If, now, the Knights and the Women's Christian Temperance Union could so far agree as to defend stern temperance legislation together, why might not the cause of temperance become what the leader of the Women's Christian Temperance Union calls it, — the earthquake among issues, lifting civilization to a high table-land across which Christ can walk? You need not be told with what prayerful caution Miss Willard performs her high duties, and that her great influence in the Women's Christian Temperance Union will never be used to support any of the questionable elements in the creed or practice of socialists, communists, or Knights of Labor. The alliance which I wish to see brought about I may outline best in Miss Willard's own words, in which she describes her interview with Mr. Powderly in his office in Philadelphia, when she presented to him the petition of the Women's Christian Temperance Union for home protection. She handed him the address which the Women's Christian Temperance Union had issued for the purpose of calling out support from the Knights of Labor.

"He read over our petition, and said, 'Let me consult my brothers.' In three minutes he came back, saying, 'If you choose to send me ninety-two thousand copies, I will place them in the hands of as many labor assemblies, and call attention to them in my circular letter soon to go out.' I said to him, 'Although you are a Catholic, and I am a Methodist, I call you brother, believe in your noble purposes, and will pray God every day to guide you.' We shook hands upon that; and I believe this man, who stands so strongly for total abstinence, who will not tolerate tobacco, and who is a devout Christian according to his bringing up, has been ordained as the Moses of his people, to bring Labor out of the wilderness by the peaceful methods of co-operation, arbitration, and the ballot-box." — *Union Signal*, Feb. 17, 1887.

This is the prayer of one who has been very justly called the best-known and the best-loved woman in America; and let all the people say, Amen. (Applause.)

LECTURE III.

MODERN NOVEL OPPORTUNITY IN THEOLOGY.

SELF-SURRENDER TO THE SELF-EVIDENT.

OURS is a transitional age; but no transition in life, or death, or beyond death, will ever remove us from the necessity of harmony with self-evident truth and with the mind that was in Christ. Goethe says, that however civilization may advance it never will go beyond the standard of morality which burns in the pages of the New Testament. George Eliot, misled by the superficialities of the mythical theory, could yet say that the mind which is in Christ is the highest possible human standard. If I were called on to choose watchwords for a universal religion, and could select but two, they would be SELF-SURRENDER TO THE SELF-EVIDENT, and the IMITATION OF CHRIST. Wherever those watchwords were understood, I should be able to add a third: THESE TWO ARE ONE.

THE IMITATION OF CHRIST.

That which in self-evident truth is the eternally Ideal, becomes in Christ, and in him only, the historically Real.

An attempt to build a cosmopolitan faith on these three principles is in harmony with the modern effort to combine the theological, philosophical, and scientific methods of research.

The possibility of uniting these three methods is the most immense opportunity before modern theology.

It is the vastest peril before the religious life of our age to dissociate them.

How do I reach my central position that that which in self-evident truth is the eternally Ideal becomes in Christ, and in him only, the historically Real?

INTUITIVE AND SEMI-INTUITIVE TRUTHS.

Possibly I ought, for the sake of some who have not followed the past discussions on this platform, to draw your attention swiftly to the difference between evident truth and self-evident truth, and also to that between intuitive and semi-intuitive truth. It is *evident* to me that the distance from this point to the Mississippi River is so many miles, — the geographers could tell me how many, — but it is *self-evident* that the shortest distance is a straight line. No measurement, however exact, could make me more certain of that proposition than I am without any measurement. Self-evident truths are such that we cannot possibly imagine the opposite of them to be true. I can imagine all the objects in the universe annihilated; I cannot imagine the smallest portion of space in the universe annihilated. That is a very curious fact in the mind. All the events which have occurred since sunrise might not have occurred; but I cannot even imagine that a portion of the duration since sunrise, or in any other part of unrolling time, should be annihilated. This idea of space, this idea of time, this idea that every change must have a cause, this idea that sin can be the quality of only voluntary action, are such that you cannot even imagine the opposite of them to be true. We call these first truths, necessary truths, intuitions, axioms, self-evident truths; and they are the foundation of all science, in the field of both matter and mind. And it is highly important that you should feel your feet upon these adamantine bases whenever you enter upon theological investigation. The reef may not be a broad one; but it takes hold of the roots of the world, and it is a girdle of the whole globe of discussion.

All strictly intuitive truth is known by three traits, — self-evidence, necessity, universality. (On the self-evident truths see especially President McCosh on "The Intuitions of the Mind," and Professor Samuel Harris on "The Scientific Basis of Theism.")

Allow me to make a distinction — which I think was never

made on this platform before, and I do not know that it has been made elsewhere — between intuitive and semi-intuitive truths. There are a number of inseparable pairs of truths, so correlated that the one necessarily implies the other. For instance, here implies there; upper, under; before, after; straight, crooked; rest, motion; unity, plurality; odd, even, concave, convex; internal, external. There cannot be an upper without an under, a here without a there, a before without an after, and so on.

And just so, in the highest sphere of thought, we have inseparable pairs, — event and cause, thought and thinker, finite and infinite, dependent and independent, conditioned and unconditioned, relative and absolute.

Now, whenever one side of one of those pairs is an intuitive truth, I call the other side a semi-intuitive truth; for it is so closely connected with intuitive truth that it is inseparable, and by a single step of unavoidable analysis you come to the second part of the pair.

THE DIVINE SELF-EXISTENCE.

What has all this to do with religion? All possible beings may be divided into self-existent and not self-existent beings. If there is in the universe a being that is not self-existent, there must be in the universe a being who is self-existent; for dependence implies something on which to depend. A dependent existence requires independent existence, — unconditioned being, or self-existence, on which to depend. I am a dependent existence. There is, therefore, in the universe an independent existence. I am a dependent personality. I have a right to infer from that fact, taken in all its relations, as I shall show you in a moment, that there is in the universe a self-existent, independent, unconditioned Personality.

Without asserting, therefore, that the existence of God is a strictly intuitive truth, it may be safely said to be a semi-intuitive truth, and just as certain as if it were a self-evident proposition; for it is the other side of that inseparable pair,

man's dependent personality, God's self-existent, unconditioned Personality. And you can no more deny God after admitting man's existence as a personality, than you can deny a here after admitting a there, or an upper after admitting an under, or a before while admitting an after. The second part of the pair, if not strictly intuitive according to the most exact definition, is certainly semi-intuitive.

THE DIVINE PERSONALITY.

Here, then, is my list of propositions, and I read them without their numerals, knowing that this audience will follow me up to a height where I hope we shall often pace to and fro in meditation and worship.

1. There is a force behind Nature.
2. That force is one.

It will be noticed that I am not now speaking of a Person, but of a power. There may be great advances in science, but there has been reached a perfect accord in the scientific conviction of the unity of force throughout the universe. The modern scientific doctrines of the persistence of force, and the correlation of forces, imply that there is but one fundamental cause in the universe. Possibly you make the vain endeavor to prove that there is no God; but you may be perfectly certain there cannot be two Gods. Nobody defends polytheism in our day; and science, cutting from under speculation that vagary, has opened the door through which strictly scientific reasoning may carry us far toward the most devout theistic faith.

3. The force behind Nature is a single cause.
4. It is a first cause.
5. It is an unconditioned cause.
6. It is a self-existent cause.
7. It is a sufficient cause.

So far all reputable philosophic thought is agreed. What am I trying to build? A faith that may be presented in Bombay and Calcutta, as well as in Boston and Chicago, and command the reverence of all who have respect

for truth. Let me turn now from the objective to the subjective side of investigation, or from what is without us to what is within us.

8. Every change must have a sufficient cause.

9. My coming into existence as a mind, free-will, and conscience was a change.

10. That change requires a cause sufficient to account for the existence of mind, free-will, and conscience.

11. Only mind, free-will, and conscience in the cause are sufficient to account for mind, free-will, and conscience in the change.

12. The cause, therefore, of man's personality possesses mind, free-will, and conscience. "He that made the ear, shall he not hear? He that made the eye, shall he not see?"

13. The union of mind, free-will, and conscience in any being constitutes personality in that being.

14. The eternal, single, unconditioned, self-existent, and sufficient cause which brought human personality into existence as a mind, free-will, and conscience has, therefore, itself mind, free-will, and conscience.

15. The eternal, single, unconditioned, self-existent, and sufficient cause of the universe is therefore also a Personal Cause. The evidence from without us adds thus its force to that from within us, and both lead to this supreme result.

16. We cannot fathom the Divine Personality; only the hem of his garment can be touched by finite powers. But while we know that we have free-will, intellect, and conscience, we know that we must have come from a power at least equal to ourselves; for the fountain cannot rise higher than its source.

One kind of scepticism Carlyle says Frederick the Great could not abide, and this was the idea that the Power which has put into us personality has none himself. And yet the fundamental vagary of agnosticism is that we do not know whether God is more than a force. Herbert Spencer says the existence of a single, unconditioned, self-existent force or power is the most certain of all truths. And Mat-

thew Arnold goes so far as to say that that power makes for righteousness. But neither of them appears to know whether that power is a person. Lotze knows. And for one I am determined not to yield my allegiance to that which is self-contradictory, and I find agnosticism fundamentally self-contradictory in its most essential positions.

17. The action of this Personal Cause is orderly, in the same sense in which the action of our thought is orderly; that is, accordant with principles of Eternal Reason, and the self-evident truths. The action of this cause throughout the universe is in harmony with the self-evident truths necessarily recognized by our minds.

18. There is a profound sense, therefore, in which man is made in the image of God, and in which God not only enswathes him, but dwells within him, as the air not only surrounds but fills the cloud.

Let us not think of God as only enswathing human personality. He interpenetrates it; he is the Life of its life; he is like the air, and the lightning within the cloud as well as without it; his immanence is to be asserted as emphatically as his transcendence. The universe is as a cloud floating in God. He is not only around it, but in it; and he gives it its shape. As Horace Bushnell used to say, the form of the regenerate soul comes from the Christ, as the form of the cloud comes from the air about it and in it; and as all clouds float in one air, so all souls float in one God. This is not pantheism; this is not materialism. It is no more than theism in the scientific aspect which it has assumed in the advances of modern philosophy.

19. The self-evident truths are the highest of natural laws.

20. But natural laws are processes, not powers; modes of operation, not operators.

21. The natural laws, including the self-evident truths, are modes of operation of a Power behind Nature.

22. That Power must be such as is adequate to explain the facts of the universe.

23. A physical, intellectual, and moral Order such as exists in the universe cannot be explained by the powers of matter.

24. It must be explained by mind.

25. The plan of the universe must have existed before it was executed.

26. A plan in existence and not executed is a thought.

27. There cannot be thought without a thinker.

28. There is, therefore, in the universe a Thinker not ourselves.

29. A thinker is a person.

30. This Thinker is also a Moral Governor.

31. As both Creator and Governor, this Person is identical with the single, unconditioned, eternal Personality revealed in the creation of mind, free-will, and conscience in man's personality. This eternal, righteous, personal, self-existent, unconditioned power is God.

32. The self-evident truths do not exist before God.

33. They do not proceed from his will.

34. They are not emanations from his nature.

LOTZE ON SELF-EVIDENT TRUTHS AS MODES OF GOD'S ACTION.

35. The self-evident truths are the mode of action of Omnipotence, and not its product. "The whole body of truth," says Lotze in one of his sublimest passages, "cannot precede the whole of reality. . . . The sum of the eternal truths is the mode in which Omnipotence acts, but is not *created* by Omnipotence. It is the *mode of action* of Omnipotence, but not its *product*." (*Microcosmus*, vol. ii., p. 697.)

36. As they are immutable, so is God.

37. As they are omnipresent, so is God.

38. As they cannot but be believed to be eternal, immutable, and omnipresent, so God cannot but be believed to be immutable, eternal, and omnipresent.

39. Wherever the natural laws and self-evident truths, which are only modes of the action of Omnipotence, touch us, the Immutable, Eternal, Omnipresent God touches us.

40. Obedience to these, therefore, is obedience to him. Self-surrender to the self-evident is self-surrender to God.

41. The Eternal Ideal required by the self-evident truths has in Christ, and in him only, become the historically Real.

42. The Eternal Reason revealed in the self-evident truths is one with the Logos which was revealed in Christ.

43. They are before all things, and without them was not any thing made that was made, and in them all things consist.

44. He is before all things, and without him was not any thing made that was made, and in him all things consist.

45. We reach, therefore, on the basis of the scientific method and the union of it with the theological, the stupendous proposition, that surrender to the self-evident is surrender to the eternally Ideal, which, in the Incarnation, became the historically Real. (Applause.)

ADDRESS BY MISS WILLARD.

I HAVE always called my brother Joseph Cook my friend, up to this time. I know he meant kindly this unexpected invitation to me, which the audience has seconded, but I would rather have gone away on that other key. I want to keep my life there. I thank God for this hour, for all it means to every heart that is docile and earnest and sincere. I thank you for a greeting which shows that your hearts are interested in a reform which would help make the skylight of the human brain clearer, so that the white light of Christ may shine in and guide our pathway evermore. (Applause.)

Dear friends, to my surprise our surprising outlook-committee of one did speak about a new departure, which some of you may think unwise. And I think, since he referred to it, I will just say that the thought in our hearts, as white-ribbon women, so far as I understand it, is that a Christian is to fellowship every man and every woman in so far as their work is in line with the work the Christian has set himself to do. (Applause.)

While you and I grieve over the dissonant and discordant voices of the strikes and the lock-outs alike, we may say that men who have never known the taste of intoxicants, as I am informed the Knights of Labor who sit in

council yonder in Philadelphia have not, are men whom we approve, and reach out a kind and sisterly hand to, in so far as they favor total abstinence. That is a safe attitude, surely. In so far as they favor scientific temperance instruction in the public schools, which Mrs. Hunt has been devoting her grand life to, and which has succeeded so grandly, we may reach out a kind hand to them. And the labor-leader in your own city told me within two hours that he was heartily in sympathy with that line of reform.

In so far as these men stand by us for better laws for the protection of women, and will circulate our petitions to bring to bear a power upon legislatures, it is safe to say that there we will walk side by side. If, going about the country from town to town and from city to city, I, or any other of our workers, can gather hard-working women of the factories, of the shops, of the stores, and speak to them of Christ upon his day, and of the possibility of the liberty wherewith Christ maketh free, and enlist them for total abstinence and for prohibition and for purity, that is a safe thing to do.

Beyond that, no member of the Women's Christian Temperance Union has gone. Beyond that, so far as I know, there is no proposal to go. Certainly no overtures have been made to us by the labor men and women, except that they say, "If you will come and talk to us, we will be glad to have you;" and except that in some societies there are members of the Women's Christian Temperance Union who are also active in local labor organizations, just as there are men and women who are active in the Good Templars, who are also either active members or honorary members of the Women's Christian Temperance Union.

I think it proper to say this much in your kindly presence this afternoon; and pray you to believe that, with a caution and a moderation that shall be guided by prayer to God that he will lead us wisely and make us not unworthy of those who trust us in the homes of this nation, we shall undertake every line of work, and enter every open door, in the name of God and home and native land. (Applause.)

IV.

MODERN NOVEL OPPORTUNITY IN
ETHICAL SCIENCE.

WITH A PRELUDE ON

NATIONAL PERILS FROM ILLITERACY.

THE 190TH LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP,
DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE, FEB. 28, 1887.

BOSTON HYMN.

HEAVEN AND HOME.

SUNG AT TREMONT TEMPLE, FEB. 28, AT THE ONE HUNDRED AND
NINETIETH BOSTON MONDAY LECTURE.

1. BREATH of God from Heaven's hills,
Fill our souls as music fills
Harps Æolian. Every tone
In life's anthem make Thine own.
2. Fill our homes, Thou God of might!
Goodness, beauty, truth, delight,
In at all their windows pour.
Enter Thou at every door.
3. Friends of God our friends shall be;
Love we every land and sea,
Both the silent wheeling poles
And the universe of souls.
4. Myriad homes by Heaven blessed
Bind Thou round the sad earth's breast.
One roof only is the sky;
One household, humanity.
5. Let our labor be a song,
Wise, alluring, swift, and long.
Kneeling on our fathers' graves,
Pray we for the Faith that saves.
6. Be our only roof the sky
And the Hand of God Most High.
Build we not upon the sands;
Ours a House not made with hands.

JOSEPH COOK.

INVOCATION.

ALMIGHTY God, wilt Thou be with us as Thou wert with our fathers. They had here no continuing city: neither have we. Our life is a brief gleam between two eternities. Our enduring citizenship is on high. We pass away, but our land remaineth. Wilt Thou, in Whose hands are the destinies of nations, bless the people of the United States, and enable them to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty for themselves and their posterity. May our land not have been washed twice and thrice in blood in vain. May we who survive sell our existences as dearly as those who have already given up their lives for the land have sold theirs. May the churches and schools arise and shine. Wilt Thou so diffuse liberty, intelligence, property, and conscientiousness, that governments of the people, for the people, and by the people may not perish from the earth. And this we ask for Christ's sake. Amen.

PRELUDE IV.

NATIONAL PERILS FROM ILLITERACY.

At the one hundred and ninetieth Boston Monday lecture there was present, as usual, an audience remarkable for both numbers and quality. The hymn entitled "Heaven and Home" was sung, under the leadership of Mr. Ryder at the organ. The Rev. Dr. L. B. Bates presided. The Rev. Dr. C. F. Deems of New York and the Rev. Dr. L. W. Munhall, the evangelist, offered prayer. In response to letters from Senator Blair, Mrs. M. H. Hunt, and others, the audience voted unanimously to pass certain resolutions, given on page 86, concerning the Blair Educational Bill and its present situation in Congress.

THE GRIP OF RUIN ON THE THROAT OF REPUBLICS.

OF the ten million actual voters in the United States, two million cannot write their names. This is one in five; so that

if I use my hand as an object-lesson to represent the suffrage of the proudest Christian republic of all time, I must shut one finger to cover the field of illiteracy. But semi-illiteracy also is a great mischief. There are at least two million voters who are not classed as illiterates, and yet do not read enough to be able to cast a thoroughly intelligent ballot. I think you will justify me in shutting the little finger and its neighbor (illustrating by the hand) to represent the general effect of lack of education upon our suffrage. What is left? Here are the two longer fingers representing two parties, let us say, of respectable people; but they are political rivals. They bid against each other for the vote of the illiterate classes. And here is the Satanic thumb of the criminal classes. The whiskey rings own more property than the slave-holders ever did. They have larger financial interests at stake every year now in their trade, than the leaders of the slave-holders' rebellion had in their property in human beings in any one year previous to the rebellion. If that thumb should be closed over these two illiterate fingers,—that is, if the dram-shop oligarchy should make illiteracy its political ally, as it has done notoriously in all our past history; if the ignorant vote should be so tutored by the criminal classes as to be cast for the support of lawlessness,—what would happen under universal suffrage?

This is a fair question. I am not an alarmist. Some politicians are not saints; some parties care for majorities. In the last census, nearly a million of white voters are classed as illiterates. The percentage of illiteracy in all but five States of the Union in 1880 was large enough to have reversed the results of the last preceding Presidential election in each of those States. (See *Orient*, Boston Monday Lectures for 1883, Prelude on "Federal Aid to Education," pp. 1-15.) If one of those longer fingers were to shut itself down upon that thumb, as the latter lies clasped over those two illiterate fingers, and were to do this for the purpose of retaining a majority, you would have what I call the grip of ruin on the throat of this nation. Unloose it! Deliver

America from bondage to the uneducated! That should be the supreme watchword of the hour.

But, to unloose it, you must destroy the numbness, the paralysis, the illiteracy, in these two smaller fingers; and you must bring this thumb to a better mind, *and each long finger also*. The death grip on the throat of any nation under universal suffrage is a combination of illiteracy with the greedy criminal classes, and with the whiffling classes, the ancient and not honorable family of the wax noses, the weather-vane populations who will go with majorities wherever they can be had. (Applause.)

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION.

Senator Blair has honored this audience with a request; so has Judge Ely, one of the representatives of Massachusetts in Congress; so has Mr. Willis, a representative of Kentucky; and so has another public leader, who has just now, I had almost said, quite as important an influence as any one of these, — Mrs. Hunt, the head of the department for scientific instruction in the national field of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and the pioneer of that great reform, the impartation of scientific instruction to the youth of the land, concerning both alcoholics and narcotics. Twenty-seven States and Territories have now been brought under law requiring such instruction, on the penalty of a withdrawal of the public funds from the schools. And had it not been for the almost or quite inspired career of this Massachusetts lady, I know not that for centuries yet we should have been brought up to this high table-land of reform. She makes a request of this audience, and it is that we express ourselves in favor — of what? A free, full, and prompt vote in the House of Representatives on that Educational Bill which has already passed the Senate, and which proposes to give temporary aid, extending over only eight years, to all the States of the Union, in proportion to the number of illiterates in the several States in comparison with the whole population.

The Blair Educational Bill is in a very peculiar crisis. As a single grain of sand may throw out of order a vast mass of complicated machinery, so one or two Democrats — as, possibly, under another set of circumstances, one or two Republicans might do — are blocking the wheels of legislation in regard to this bill, and keeping the Committee on Rules in such an attitude that the bill cannot be brought to a full and fair vote in the House of Representatives, which over and over by a great majority has shown itself favorable to it. It is a block which public sentiment ought to break up, and we are asked this morning to deliver a blow at this high-handed tyranny; for it is precisely by that epithet that Senator Blair, in a letter which I will read in a moment, characterizes the action of the Committee on Rules of the House of Representatives.

RESOLUTIONS ON THE EDUCATIONAL BILL.

I have the honor, Mr. Chairman, to move that this audience pass the following resolutions:—

Resolved, By the audience assembled at Tremont Temple, Feb. 28, that we have heard with surprise and pain that a fair and full vote on the Blair Educational Bill is prevented by the action of two or three men on the Committee on Rules in the National House of Representatives, while the House itself has repeatedly favored its consideration by a majority of more than two to one.

Resolved, That we are the more surprised and pained by this situation of the bill, because more than two million people collectively through societies, more than one hundred thousand over their own signatures, and more than fifty thousand by personal letters, have petitioned the present Congress to pass this bill.

Resolved, That we are in favor of a full and fair and early vote on the Blair Educational Bill, and therefore urge this policy upon our representatives in Congress.

LETTER FROM SENATOR BLAIR.

In support of these resolutions, let me, in the first place, read Senator Blair's letter.

UNITED STATES SENATE, WASHINGTON, D.C., Feb. 22, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR, — The bill providing temporary national aid for the support of common schools was introduced by me in the Senate Dec. 6, 1881,

and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor. It was favorably reported by that committee, but no further action was taken during that (the Forty-seventh) Congress.

I again introduced the bill at the first session of the Forty-eighth Congress, and it was passed by the Senate, April 7, 1884, by a vote of thirty-three yeas to eleven nays. It then went to the House; but no action was taken there, either during the remainder of that, or during the short session following, and the Congress closed March 3, 1885, — House Democratic and leaders generally opposed to the bill. I introduced the bill at the opening of the Forty-ninth Congress; and March 6, after about three weeks' debate, it was passed by the Senate by a vote of thirty-six to eleven, and went to the House, was referred to the Committee on Education, which refused to act at all, and pigeon-holed the bill.

After a protracted effort by Mr. Willis and others to obtain a report either for or against the bill, which was refused by the committee because it was known that the House would reverse an unfavorable report upon the bill, Mr. Willis had an exact copy of the bill referred to the House Committee on Labor, he being assured by a majority of that committee that they would report the bill for action by the House; but adverse influences were at once felt there, and the bill was locked up in that committee as it was already in the Committee on Education. Great ill-feeling resulted from this second failure to get action by a committee; and at last a majority of the Labor Committee reported an abortion meant to burlesque the bill, and the minority reported the Senate bill. Nothing could be done, and the bill went over to the present session. At last it was reached; and the question was taken upon its consideration by the House, when the vote stood one hundred and sixty-six for consideration and seventy-six against; the latter all Democrats but one, — Mr. White, a Republican from Minnesota. The two days available under the rules were filibustered away by this minority, under the lead of Springer, Morrison, Randall, and Carlisle, all Democrats.

Then a resolution to fix a day for the consideration of the bill, and to continue its consideration until disposed of, was introduced, and referred, as the rules require, to the Committee on Rules, who have power to report at any time. The committee is composed as follows: Carlisle, Randall, Morrison, Reed, and Hiscock, — the last two Republicans. They are both for reporting the resolution and considering the bill. Any one of the three Democrats could join with them, and the bill would be considered by the House, and passed. So the Committee on Rules will not report, not even adversely, because the House then could amend their report, and fix a day and pass the bill. As Mr. Randall says, "If the House got hold of the bill, it would go through humming." They do not dare report any other bill for consideration, because an amendment could be offered to fix a day for the Education Bill: so much other very important business is blocked.

Of course this is all high-handed tyranny, and is a practical revolution, — the creation of a legislative despotism or oligarchy.

There is much more to this which I cannot write. I make this statement

at the request of Mrs. Hunt, who has done every thing possible to aid the passage of the bill.

The amount of work done all the way through these weary years has been infinite, and can only be equalled by the necessity of its passage.

I send you my last speech, made at the opening of the debate, February, 1886. It embodies much matter previously in your possession, possibly.

A great struggle is before us to preserve our common schools.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. W. BLAIR.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK, Boston.

LETTER FROM REPRESENTATIVE ELY.

Judge Ely's letter is a full account of the present situation of the bill, and covers precisely the ground which you have now heard described by Senator Blair.

"Under the rules of the House, the adoption of which I opposed at the beginning of this Congress, the enemies of a bill have as great advantage over its friends in a struggle for consideration, as the garrison of the fortress of Gibraltar would have over an army attempting to storm its heights. . . . These gentlemen are, no doubt, conscientious in their opposition to this bill. Nevertheless, it seems to me that when the conscience of one member of the House is forcibly, and not by reasonable argument, made the conscience of a majority of the members, it is an unconstitutional conscience." (Applause.)

Judge Ely has labored most vigorously for this bill up to the last hour, in spite of his not having been re-elected in the last struggle between parties. He has most unselfishly thrown himself into the support of this great national measure; and his words can have no unworthy political motive behind them, for he is not to be in Congress after a few more months. The communication from Representative Willis is of the same purport with that from Senator Blair, and is important as indicating the attitude of a Southern State.

LETTER FROM MRS. HUNT.

An extract from Mrs. Hunt's admirable letter will close these citations.

"Our Education Bill is still in committee in the House. It has passed the Senate, and two-thirds of this House have more than three times expressed a desire by vote to consider it; but the opponents, taking advantage

of arbitrary rules of the House, have thus far filibustered away the time, so that a vote could not be reached. Its worst enemies admit it would pass by a two-thirds vote if the House could only get it ; hence the bitter opposition of this small minority. When it became evidently too late to reach it through any other committee, we sent the bill to the Committee on Rules, a privileged committee of five who can report at any time and whose business has the right of way. The two Republicans on that committee, Mr. Hiscock of New York and Mr. Reed of Maine, favor reporting the bill ; Mr. Randall of Pennsylvania, Mr. Morrison of New Jersey, and Mr. Carlisle of Kentucky oppose it. The vote of either of these last gentlemen would make a majority in the committee and give it to the House, who, as we have already said, are sure to pass it. If they would report it adversely, we should be glad ; but they simply refuse to do any thing. It is an instance of three men saying to the representatives of sixty million people, ' You shall not have a chance to vote upon this question.'

" This is all the more aggravating because this session, since through the W. C. T. U. we began this battle, more than two million people collectively through societies, churches, etc., and more than one hundred thousand over their own signatures, and more than fifty thousand by personal letters have petitioned this Congress to pass this bill this session. Messrs. Randall, Morrison, and Carlisle may be sincere in their opposition to the bill ; but for them to take advantage of their official positions, to keep the question from the consideration of the House, would be more becoming in the Czar of Russia than in members of the Congress of the United States.

" It is a fearful battle, in which bitter opposition to the education of the black man, opposition to free schools by the papal power and the spirit of oligarchies that hates the uplifting of the masses, are the contestants with the best spirit of our age, which seeks to carry the elevating influences of education and its accompanying civilization and Christianizing power to all classes and races of men.

" If Mr. Cook will make the Education Bill and the present situation in Congress the subject for his prelude next Monday, he will bring before his audience a living issue in which the people of this country are now keenly interested. If a vote from his audience should be telegraphed to Mr. Carlisle, and at the same time sent through the associate press to the country, it cannot fail to have its influence."

It is your opinion that is wanted, not mine ; and I salute this audience once more as the Old Guard of Reform. Who wants other authority that the Educational Bill is constitutional than your own Senator Hoar of Massachusetts, Senator Edmunds, Senator Blair, and Senator Evarts ? I have their words before me, and read those of Senator Edmunds.

" I do not think there is any constitutional difficulty in this bill. So, then, without going at large into such a discussion, it is perfectly plain

to my mind, with great respect to those who think otherwise, that the constitutional power of Congress to devote money in the treasury to this object is perfectly clear; and I fully agree to what the eloquent senator from Massachusetts, Mr. Hoar, has said, as it regards the promotion of the general welfare by the universality of education as one of the three fundamental elements without which, in the long-run, no government of the people, and by the people, and for the people, can long exist."

Whatever you may have read in this or that secular or religious paper, the battle on this point of the constitutionality of the Educational Bill appears to have been carried in favor of the friends of the measure. That long debate in the Senate whipped into shreds the trivial objections on this point that are hawked about the streets in the ordinary journals. It would be well for us if we read a little more fully the official reports of congressional debates, especially in the Senate.

I might go into great detail; for here is a copy of the bill, and documents have been sent to me in large numbers. But the substance of the case cannot be put better than by Mrs. Hunt.

"When I reached here at the opening of this session, even the Republican members seemed coldly critical; but under the pressure of home influence all this has changed. Only two members of the Republican party voted against considering the bill, and a large number of Democrats voted for it. The reasons for opposition have been chiefly these:—

"1. It is unconstitutional for the Federal Government to contribute to education in the States. But to that we have continually quoted the Constitution, which specifies that 'the Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and *general welfare* of the United States;' and now we hear but little about constitutional limitations standing in the way.

"2. 'National aid for public schools will pauperize the States.' National aid for improvement of harbors and rivers has not seemed to pauperize the spirit of internal improvement in the States; why, then, should national aid for improvement of future men and women be more demoralizing?

"3. That it is Federal interference with local self-government, is an objection which never could be honestly raised by anybody who had read the bill, for it puts the money for disbursement into the hands of local authorities.

"Some Northerners have objected, fearing the money would be diverted from legitimate channels, and the blacks not get the designed benefit. This objection is likewise based on an imaginary rather than the present bill."

SURPLUS IN THE TREASURY.

This bill is a temporary measure. It applies not only to the South, but to the whole North. Massachusetts under this bill would get about a million dollars, New-York State about two millions.

The money is to be drawn from the surplus in the treasury. Senator Sherman affirms that this surplus now amounts to not far from one hundred millions of dollars every year.

Why is Mrs. Hunt put in charge of Senator Blair's bill? Mrs. Hunt has carried scientific temperance instruction into twenty-seven States and Territories; but in many of the Southern States public schools are open for so brief a period during the year, and are in other ways so weak, that scientific temperance instruction could hardly be introduced into them. Let a sound system of public schools be made universal in the Southern States, and then temperance instruction can be carried into them as it has been into those of the other States and Territories. Mrs. Hunt seems set for the defence of the children of the present generation, and so for the salvation of the republic which they are soon to rule. I ask you to encourage her, both on account of the peril of illiteracy, and on account of the peril of intemperance, and supremely on account of the peril of a combination of these vast forces of mischief. In the name of the martyrs of the Civil War, in the name of the Fathers whose prayer used to be that good learning might not be buried in their graves, unlock from the throat of the nation the grip of intemperance, ignorance, and partisan greed in unholy alliance; deliver America from political bondage to a coalition of the criminal and the illiterate classes. (Applause.)

The resolutions were put by the Rev. Dr. Bates, and carried unanimously. The result was telegraphed to Senator Blair and Speaker Carlisle.

QUESTIONS.

Are the Knights of Labor too much under the influence of the Socialists? Does Mr. Powderly sympathize too much with Mr. Swinton?

Some months ago, on this platform, it was my fortune to utter, in very moderate tones of alarm, a warning against a possible coalition of the Knights of Labor with Socialistic or semi-Socialistic forces in our politics and in labor agitation. A noble Knight came to me after the lecture, and said, as several newspapers within a few days did also, "You are entirely wrong, sir: there is no danger of any such alliance." This workingman continued: "Will you not come down to-night to Faneuil Hall, and address a labor meeting? If you will go, we will put you on the same platform with John Swinton." But Mr. Swinton, although not quite a Socialist, leans so far towards Socialism as to be a very effective weapon of the Socialistic party. In our day it is not Socialism that is the great peril, but semi-Socialism. In the newspaper press of the inferior sort, it is not the Satanic that sells best, but the semi-Satanic; not the Godless, but the gilt-edged Godless. In our politics anarchy is a horror, Communism is repulsive, Socialism is not attractive; but semi-Socialism, clinging to the skirts of the Knights of Labor, is a public peril. At Richmond, the Knights, in national convention, asked for a commutation of the sentence on the Chicago anarchists. The Central Labor Union of New York now asks for their pardon.

In Professor Ely's able and candid book on "The Labor Movement," you find in the footnotes Mr. Swinton recommended as one of the best authorities concerning the wants of the workingmen in this country. At Cleveland, last May, at a national gathering of the Knights, I met several of their leaders, some of whom at present belong to the inner con-

clave of the Philadelphia council. I put the very harmless question to one of them: "What newspaper shall I take in order to be informed as to what the Knights are doing?" — "Well, we cannot send you our official journal: that is taken now only by the Knights; but, if you wish to be well informed, take John Swinton's paper." I put afterwards, in an innocent manner, the same question to Mr. Powderly, and he said, "We cannot send you our official journal; but, if you wish to be well informed as to the progress of the labor cause in the United States, you should take John Swinton's paper." When I expressed a slight degree of surprise, he added, with characteristic shrewdness, "John Swinton is not a Knight of Labor." Far be it from me to suppose that every thing in John Swinton's paper is indorsed by the Knights. But the serious truth is, that Henry George and John Swinton have hold of Mr. Powderly's left hand, and Miss Willard of the right. God give success to the right-hand force! (Applause.)

Ought the Protestant portion of Ireland to be subject to the Catholic portion? Could Ireland be advantageously divided into two States, each with its own legislature, and each sending representatives to Parliament?

The Protestants of Ulster greatly fear, that if they were subject to the exclusive rule of a Dublin parliament they would be much in the condition in which the Protestants of Ontario yonder would be if subject to the rule of the Roman Catholic Province of Quebec. Such of you as have studied politics in the Canadian Dominion know very well that one of the great forces which brought about a union of all the Provinces was a desire of the Protestant populations to be free from irritating interference on the part of the Roman Catholics, and of the Roman Catholic populations to be free from equally, and perhaps more, irritating interference on the part of the Protestants. We all think alike, I suppose, in regard to the wisdom of the arrangement which gave Protestant populations autonomy, and Roman Catholic popula-

tions autonomy, in the great Dominion north of us. It would not be advisable for Ontario to make laws for Quebec, nor for Quebec to make laws for Ontario. Two religions are concerned, and two races; and there may very well be two local legislative assemblies. If I am to utter my central thought concerning the very large and intricate subject of the rights and wrongs of Ireland, which I have tried to study for many years, and especially ever since lecturing in Dublin, Belfast, and Londonderry, I must say that it appears to me that several questions as to politics, religion, and race in Ireland, though not as to ownership of land, have a good deal of light thrown upon them by the experience of Canada.

In spite of all that can be said about the lessening antipathy between Protestants and Romanists in Ireland; in spite of the fact that American audiences, made up largely of Roman Catholics, cheer the statement of Mr. McCarthy, that Roman Catholics and Protestants are very well agreed now in Ireland, I for one sympathize with Mr. Spurgeon's and John Bright's feeling, that the Protestants of Ulster ought to be enabled to take care of themselves. They are not the majority in Ireland, but they are a most reputable and a very large body. Protestant and Catholic Ireland ought to be at least as free from each other's control as are Ontario and Quebec.

What if Ireland should get loose in the sea, and float over to America? (Laughter.) How should we manage her affairs? She might not bring the millennium with her. (Laughter.) But we should undoubtedly govern her, by some combination of local and federal authority, as we do all our present States and Territories. Very probably it would be thought best to divide her into two States. Matthew Arnold thinks Ireland might well enough be divided into at least two, perhaps three, States, and governed after the American fashion; a most revolutionary proposition. The Irish leaders, as Mr. McCarthy told us yesterday, are now obtaining control of the municipal governments in Ireland, and are making the law in the cities far more

respectable than it was under Tory rule. But if Irish municipal politicians do not manage their native politics better than they have managed one or two renowned American cities, their accession to power, although it may be an improvement on the old fashions, will not be the full dawn of millennial felicity. (Laughter.)

What if Ireland, floating at the side of our coast, were to set up a claim for very nearly complete legislative independence of the United States, and were to refuse to send representatives to Congress? Americans would never consent to such an arrangement. Americans, I think, would not consider it politically prudent for Ireland to make such an arrangement with the British Parliament. Americans do not wish to see Ireland totally independent of the British Empire. They would be pained by the secession of Ireland from the United Kingdom. They do not expect England, Scotland, and Wales to permit such secession. Americans, as their recent history shows, would certainly not permit it themselves, were they in the place of Britons. But Americans very generally wish, and I think expect, to see some application of the federal principle and of local, constitutional, representative government to Ireland, either as a whole or in two or three separate portions.

My answer, then, to the first of these questions is, No; to the second, Yes. Study Canada, study the American Union, study Mr. Gladstone, study the history of English parties in relation to political reform. The workingmen of England, whose power at the polls has been of late so greatly enlarged, sympathize profoundly with their Irish brethren. Their attitude is likely to be a more important element in the decision of the Irish question than that of the House of Lords. In the United States, in the Canadian Dominion, in Australia, in South Africa, all around the globe, the sympathy of friends of governments of the people, for the people, and by the people, is with the demand for local representative institutions in combination with federal authority; but I think it is not with the demand for the dismemberment of the British Empire. (Applause.)

LECTURE IV.

MODERN NOVEL OPPORTUNITY IN ETHICAL SCIENCE.

SELF-REVELATIONS OF GOD.

THERE is a famous Eastern word OM, which in its highest mystic use means, *God in man and man in God*, and carries with it to the Oriental mind anywhere beyond the Euphrates the whole solemnity of the Divine Omnipresence in the universe. It will be found ultimately that this unfathomable syllable must be the keynote of philosophy and science, no less than of morals. *Sursum corda*. Lift up your hearts. In the name of God let us study whatever proceeds from God; for wherever God acts there he is, and every work of God is a self-revelation of God, whether it be matter or mind, plant or animal, planets or suns, men or angels, the Eternal Reason revealed in self-evident truth, or the Eternal Word revealed in Christ.

What are the chief of the organizing truths on which ethical science ought now to be founded?

1. There is a self-revelation of God in the existence and laws of matter.
2. There is a self-revelation of God in the vegetable world.
3. There is a self-revelation of God in the world of animal life.
4. There is a self-revelation of God in the natural man.
5. There is a self-revelation of God in the regenerate man.
6. There is a self-revelation of God in man at his climax, the one perfect life, the Christ.
7. But back of every one of these revelations, back of the last and back of the first, back of the Christ himself, back of matter itself, as well as back of every finite form of life and intelligence, there is a self-revelation of God in the self-evident or eternal truths of the universe. There is but one

God. There are unity, consistency, continuity, in all these revelations.

8. All these revelations belong to ethical science, strictly so-called.

9. There is now an immense opportunity before ethical science to broaden its range so as to embrace the whole field of the self-revelation of God.

10. There is immense peril in occupying only a fragment of that field.

Not to dwell here and now on the thought which has often been emphasized here, that Christology, so far forth as the human nature of Christ represents man in his normal condition, should be made henceforth a part of ethical science, I beg leave to fasten attention on the certainty at which philosophy, and, as I suppose, ethical science in its highest forms, have arrived, that the self-evident truths themselves are the modes of the action of Omnipotence.

CLARKE AND LOTZE IN CONTRAST.

Contrast the tone of advanced thought in the last century in speaking of self-evident truth, with that of the most advanced thought of our day on the same theme.

Samuel Clarke, a contemporary of Newton and of Butler, and a correspondent of Leibnitz, based his famous outline of ethical philosophy on eternal truths, or self-evident propositions.

“There are eternal and necessary differences and relations of things, constituting an original and immutable fitness of them, or unfitness to each other.

“To these, as data, God *necessarily* (i.e. in virtue of his inherent Perfection) conforms his will; and this conformity constitutes his justice, goodness, and truth towards the whole: our *voluntary* conformity to the same data constitutes the corresponding virtues in us, and is our *Duty*; and this irrespective of positive command and of personal reward and punishment. . . .

“Thus the infinite superiority of God *renders fit* the veneration and obedience of men, since it is *true* that, on him we depend, and that his will is just, and his power irresistible. . . .

“So far, then, as men are conscious of what is right and wrong, so far they *are* under an obligation to act accordingly; and that eternal rule of right

ought as indispensably to govern men's actions, as it cannot but necessarily determine their assent.' This important passage condenses Clarke's doctrine into its simplest form; that the moral consciousness, when awakened, is *intuitive and self-evidencing*, and carries in it an *inherent imperative authority*." — (See MARTINEAU, *Types of Ethical Theory*, vol. ii. pp. 464-466.)

The power of this course of thought lies in the self-evident truth behind it. What are these eternal truths to which, according to Clarke and according to Leibnitz, God himself submits, and which are, as it were, a mind above God, a necessity enforcing itself upon his will?

The opening of this very celebrated series of proofs looks much like the pagan idea of a God above all gods, and Necessity above all. The highest god of the pagan mythology was Necessity. But who or what originated Necessity and eternal truth? Germany laughs at the superficiality of Scotland and England in not raising this question often, and laughs with much heartiness at America for not raising it at all. We believe that there are self-evident, necessary, immutable, and eternal truths. How is their existence to be explained? *In the beginning, GOD*. Professor Samuel Harris calls these the most pregnant words known to history or philosophy. (See his recent work on *The Self-Revelation of God*, p. 506.)

Open Lotze, and mark the advance made by philosophy in its course of a hundred years through Kant and Fichte and Schelling and Hegel to our time. You come to this same base, the rock of self-evident truth; but you are no longer left in superficial accounts of its significance.

"We traced back the manifoldness of reality to one unconditioned primary cause; and this One, which can give coherence to finite multiplicity and the possibility of reciprocal action to individual things, we found not in a law, not in an idea, not in any cosmic order; but only in a *Being* capable of acting and suffering. In mind alone, self-possessing and having self-existence, and not in a substance developing with blind impulse, did we find in truth and reality the substantiality which we felt constrained to require in this Supreme Being." — LOTZE: *Microcosmus*, vol. ii. p. 689.

"It is impossible that a realm of external truths should in any way exist *external* to God as an object of his recognition, or *before* him as a rule of his working." (p. 691.) "If it is unthinkable that *any* truth should arise by creation, it is still more impossible to imagine creative activity directed to

such an impossible aim as the original production of *all* truth." (p. 691). "For God there was no reality *within which* he had to realize his creation; nor laws which, prior to him, *of themselves* determined what was possible, and what was impossible." (p. 705.) "Truth cannot be created by God's *act*, but it is only through his *existence* that it subsists." (p. 698.) "No kind of unsubstantial, unrealized, and yet eternally valid necessity, neither a realm of truth nor a realm of worth is prior as the initial reality; but that reality which is Living Love unfolds itself in one movement, which for finite cognition appears in the three aspects of the good which is its end, the constructive impulse by which this is realized, and the conformity to law with which this impulse keeps in the path that leads towards its end." (p. 722.) "Good is the beginning and end of the whole universe." (p. 726.) "There is only *one* thing, only one real Power appearing to us under a threefold image of an end to be realized; namely, first, some definite and desired Good; then, on account of the definiteness of this, a formed and developing Reality; and, finally, in this activity, an unvarying reign of Law. . . . This view is a confession of my philosophic faith." (p. 716.)

The one gleaming text of my present discussion of self-evident truth is Lotze's famous sentence: "The sum of the eternal truths *is* the mode of operation of Omnipotence, and not its product."

Is there not progress from Clarke to Lotze? Aristotle said, with pathetic insight, that whoever abandons the self-evident truths will find nothing more certain on which to build. Every great reform in history has been based on some truth which has been nearly or quite self-evident. Are we occupying our opportunity if we do not rise to the height of this possible outlook, and place ethical science on the summit of theistic realism in philosophy?

MARTINEAU ON SELF AND GOD, FACE TO FACE.

Here is Martineau, and he tells us over and over, in the profoundest work on ethics that has appeared for many years, that the real, eternal, objective will of God is the only thing which will adequately explain the revelations of Conscience.

"Without objective conditions, the idea of *duty* involves a contradiction, and its phraseology passes into an unmeaning figure of speech. Nothing can be *binding* to us that is not higher than we; and to speak of *one part of self imposing obligation on another part*,—of one impulse or affection

playing, as it were, *the God* to another, — is to trifle with the real significance of the sentiments that speak within us. Conscience does not *frame* the law, it simply *reveals* the law, that holds us; and to make every thing of the *disclosure*, and nothing of the *thing disclosed*, is to affirm and to deny the revelation in the same breath. . . . Our psychology should be dualistic in its results, recognizing, as in its doctrine of perception, so in its doctrine of conscience, both a *self* and an *other than self*. In perception, it is *self and Nature*; in morals, it is *self and God*, that stand face to face.

“The revelations of our moral nature are *in* us, but not *of* us; not ours, but God’s.” — MARTINEAU: *Types of Ethical Theory*, vol. ii. pp. 5, 79.

GOD IN SELF-EVIDENT TRUTHS.

The self-evident truths exist because God is; and wherever we touch them we touch him, for they are the modes of his action.

The supreme natural laws are the self-evident truths. But a natural law is a process, not a power; a method of operation, not an operator. The self-evident truths are the only modes of God’s action of which we cannot conceive a reversal. Light flashes from side to side of the unfathomable creation, but we can imagine that light might be extinguished forever. Gravitation is a natural law, and we believe that God is behind it; but there might be no law of gravitation. It is conceivable that this law might be repealed. And so of every other natural law, except those self-evident truths on which all science proceeds, and according to which the whole universe, as far as our science can examine it, is constructed.

The intellectual axioms, the mathematical axioms, the geometrical axioms, the moral axioms, are inwoven with the inmost fibres of the human soul. If we ascend into heaven, they are there. If we descend into hell, they are there. From eternity to eternity they are without variable-ness or shadow of turning.

The human soul is like the ocean, sunlit at the surface, partially lighted at greater depths, but with immense unlighted regions into which the eye of man cannot penetrate. Some part of the activity of the soul is known to consciousness; another portion is wholly unknown. We are greater than we know. It may be that the portion of the action of

the human spirit that we are not conscious of builds the body. In this portion the soul may be connected with a spiritual body from which we shall never be separated. At any rate, what we do know is, that the dark sea as well as the sunlit sea requires a support. Beneath the ocean must be the earth, and beneath the earth the Everlasting Arms. God abides not merely in the lighted, but in the unlighted portions of the soul; and beneath each soul and the whole universe of souls are the Everlasting Arms. As gravitation is shot through the oceans and through every drop of all the seas, and is in them but not of them, so moral gravitation is shot through all souls, and is in them but not of them.

The self-evident, eternal truths, according to which all reasoning must proceed, are omnipresent in the universe; and we are saturated by them as the air is by the light, or the cloud by the air or the lightning. If a cloud could think, would it not feel itself saturated as well as enswathed by the light, filled as well as surrounded by the air, interpenetrated everywhere by electricity as well as sunk in an ocean of electrical influences? In a self-conscious cloud there would be an inner witness to the presence of these powers; and, reasoning upon that inner evidence, the cloud might rise from what is within to what is without, or, as the books say, from the subjective to the objective, from the immanent God to the transcendent God. It might be sure that the very air, the very light, the very electricity, within it would be found in other clouds, and filling immense spaces, and that all clouds float in one bath of fire. So all souls may be sure, if they will but meditate on the light and lightning within them, that they are not only filled but enswathed, and not only enswathed but filled, by the Divine omnipresence.

That Eternal Reason revealed in the eternal truths, which are only the methods of God's action — whither shall we fly from its presence? If we take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, even there shall

its hand lead us, and its right hand hold us. "O Lord, thou hast searched me, and known me. I will praise thee; for I am fearfully and wonderfully made: marvellous are thy works" in the soul; "and that my soul knoweth right well."

All this does not lead by the breadth of a syllable toward pantheism; but it does lead away utterly from a now outworn mechanical theism, which makes God simply a manager of a machine, constructed by his fingers, indeed, but left to run without any interference of his, after it has once been made. It does uproot wholly the idea, which has been far too prevalent in British and even Scottish philosophy and in theology, of "an absentee God," as Carlyle calls him, "sitting on the outside of His universe, ever since the morning of creation, and seeing it go!" Away with that superficiality, in the name of all we now know of the self-evident, eternal truths as irrevocable natural laws, or modes of operation of the omnipresent God!

MR. EMERSON ON CHRIST IN CONSCIENCE.

Do I make a too bold transition when I venture, with hushed awe, to maintain that the Eternal Reason is the Logos? Here is the latest biography of Mr. Emerson, written by an Episcopalian rector who was his cousin, Dr. Haskins. In a conversation with Mr. Emerson, about 1838, this author asked him how he would define his position. He answered with great deliberateness, and long pauses between his words, "I am more of a Quaker than any thing else. I believe in the still small Voice. That voice is Christ within us." ("Ralph Waldo Emerson: his Maternal Ancestors," p. 118.)

We believe in a self-revelation of God in the self-evident truths. We believe in a self-revelation of God in matter and its laws. But God is one. There is a higher revelation as life ascends, and in the ascent of life we come to what? Not to man merely in his low estate and confusion of faculties, but to man harmonious with his environment. We come not only to natural man, but to regenerate man. We come to the perfect human nature of Christ. As Dorner

has taught: "The perfecting of the self-revelation of God is nothing other than the Incarnation of God." ("System of Christian Doctrine," vol. iii. p. 141.)

FUTILITY OF FALSE LIBERALISM.

The omnipresent axioms of Conscience are the same in all souls. Great inferences of the most vital practical value flow from theistic realism in philosophy. It is perfectly useless to teach a soft religion. God in natural law teaches nothing of the kind. It is perfectly useless to refuse mental hospitality to severe truth on the one hand, or to tender truth on the other. God is hospitable to both kinds of truth. It is perfectly futile to affirm or to dream that without a knowledge of the historic Christ there is no decisive probation. The Eternal Reason, the still small Voice, fill human souls by virtue of the human constitution itself. They *are* that constitution, and they are He. Whoever yields to all the light he has obtains more, and whoever refuses light loses light. According to the double action of this most terrific and most alluring law, all character tends to final permanence. *Every human being, as existing in God, is of necessity put under probation by his environment.*

Self-surrender to the self-evident cannot be made perfect in our experience, without bringing us, even if we are wholly without knowledge of historical revelation, to *a* doctrine of a Holy Spirit, and *a* doctrine of a new birth, and *a* doctrine of an atonement or of some method of peace between God and man. But, on the other hand, in that highest Revelation which God has made of himself in human history, and which we believe to be Divine, we find truths to which we cannot yield ourselves utterly without coming to *the* doctrine of the Holy Spirit, and *the* doctrine of the New Birth, and *the* doctrine of the Atonement. My contention is, that, since the Eternal Reason and the Logos are the same, *a* doctrine and *the* doctrine here harmonize. The fact that some atonement has been made, I might dimly perceive, from the peace and sense of pardon which follow total self-sur-

render to God. A Holy Spirit I know, without going beyond the philosophy of Socrates and Plato, and, indeed, without advancing beyond the vestibule of that of Kant and Lotze. But *a* doctrine and *the* doctrine in regard to all these points coalesce. Self-evident truth and Revelation both proclaim the necessity of the deliverance of the soul from the love and the guilt of sin. What I wish to make emphatic is the great peril of not allowing them to coalesce in modern thought as they do in the *cans* and *cannots* of Scripture itself; the great peril of a fragmentary outlook in modern ethical science; the great peril of allowing Bombay, Calcutta, and Yokohama, or Berlin, London, and Boston, to be filled with a superficial agnosticism, or with the materialistic misconceptions which lead to both mental and moral bewilderment and ruin.

It is time that the Occident should rise, and light the wood that has been placed by the advance of science and philosophy upon the altar of the unknown God. There is an abundance of this fuel to be lighted, and the flame ought to blaze to the heavens, in sight of the entire family of man. The time has come when, in the name of axiomatic theology, or theistic realism in philosophy and ethical science, this flame should be made to usher in a better age. Self-evident truths are self-revelations of God. The most perfect of the self-revelations of God to man are God in Conscience and God in Christ. But God is one. Self-surrender to the Self-evident, Co-operation with God, Fellowship with Christ, — these three are one. This sacred sandal-wood should be lighted on the Alps and the Himalayas, lighted on the Rocky Mountains and the Andes, lighted in the centres of civilization and in the depths of paganism and in the isles of the sea. The light of the Eternal Truths should flame up from all quarters of the earth, and, indeed, from all worlds, for the fuel from which that light springs lies on all their altars; and so all worlds, as these flames rise not voiceless to the heaven of heavens, should once more sing together, like the morning stars, for joy. (Applause.)

V.

MODERN NOVEL OPPORTUNITY IN THE
SPIRITUAL LIFE.

WITH A PRELUDE ON

CREED AND DEED AMONG CHURCH-MEMBERS.

THE 191ST LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP,
DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE, MARCH 7, 1887.

BOSTON HYMN.

THE TOUCH OF THE UNSEEN.

SUNG AT TREMONT TEMPLE, MARCH 7, AT THE ONE HUNDRED AND
NINETY-FIRST BOSTON MONDAY LECTURE.

1. As feel the flowers the sun in heaven,
But sun and sunlight never see ;
So feel I Thee, O God, my God !
Thy dateless Noontide hid from me.
2. As touch the buds the blessed rain,
But rain and rainbow never see ;
So touch I Thee in bliss or pain,
Thy far vast Rainbow veiled from me.
3. Orion, moon and sun and bow,
Amaze a sky unseen by me ;
God's wheeling Heaven is there, I know,
Although its arch I cannot see.
4. In low estate, I, as the flower,
Have nerves to feel, not eyes to see ;
The subtlest in the Conscience is
Thyself and that which toucheth Thee.
5. Forever it may be that I
More yet shall feel, and shall not see ;
Above my soul Thy Wholeness roll,
Not visibly, but tangibly.
6. But flaming heart to Rain and Ray
Turn I in meekest loyalty ;
I breathe and move and live in Thee,
And drink the Ray I cannot see.

JOSEPH COOK.

INVOCATION.

THY kingdom come in us, our Father in heaven, and Thy will be done in our nation and in the whole family of man, as in heaven. Wilt Thou make our duty our delight. Our duty before Thee is adoration, confession, thanksgiving, petition, and total self-surrender; and all this we would perform here and now, in the first moment of our service; and we would do this gladly, affectionately, irreversibly, each silently and alone. And when by inspiring our self-surrender to Thee Thou hast enlarged our receptivity for Thyself, may we work with Thee; for the night cometh in which no man can work. Wilt Thou remember Thy servant who in another city is lying at the gates of death. If his life has been full of light, and yet crossed by shadow, wilt Thou in the valley of the shadow of death remove from him all shadow, so that his eternity may be all light. And this we ask for Christ's sake. Amen.

PRELUDE V.

CREED AND DEED AMONG CHURCH-MEMBERS.

THERE was a very large audience present at the one hundred and ninety-first Boston Monday lecture, in spite of unfavorable conditions of the streets, resulting from a heavy snowstorm. The Rev. Dr. A. J. Gordon presided. The hymn entitled "The Touch of the Unseen" was sung by the audience, under the leadership of Mr. Ryder at the organ, and of Professor Towner of Chicago. The Rev. Dr. L. B. Bates offered prayer, and made fitting allusion to the very serious news concerning the illness of Mr. Beecher in Brooklyn. In replies to questions, addresses were made by the Rev. L. A. Banks and by Mrs. J. Ellen Foster.

A BLUSHLESS CHURCH.

WHEREVER the world justly blushes for a blushless Church, any discerning eye may see the dawn of a crimson

day of judgment. (Applause.) The crimson in our tolerant faces is sometimes far too faint. One of the worst signs of the times is that certain liberal circles in the Church appear to be losing the capacity to blush.

Whole new spiritual continents are rising in the sea of history in our day, so that the area of firm land is increasing at the same time with the area of marshes and quicksands around the coasts. Only this double cause explains the strange mingling of good and evil in our transitional age. As a continent rising from the sea increases at once the extent of its inner firm portion, and also of its outer uncertain margin, so Christianity in its progress among men increases at once the number of its faithful adherents who build on the rock, and also of its spurious professors who build on the sand. My conviction is that the quicksands were never more extensive in any recent age of the world than they are in our own. But I am also convinced that the rock was never more broadly uncovered than in our day. This is no paradox; for it is an ancient saying that with every increase of the circle of illumination the circle of darkness around it grows greater. With every increase of the power of the Church over the world, there will for a while be an increase of the intermixture of the Church with the world, and so, to some extent, an increase of adulteration in Christianity.

What are some specimens of building on the rock by the Church within the Church? Slavery has been overthrown. A greater evil, the liquor-traffic, is now seriously assailed by both Church and State. Education is being carried to the ends of the earth. Missions encircle the globe. Work and wages are discussed not merely on platforms, but in pulpits and parlors. Commerce has become to a very large extent a missionary for liberty, education, and religion. The Christian Church is now so connected with the nations that have the foremost political power of the world, that, by governing those nations, it may exert paramount moral authority almost everywhere.

MORAL PRIMACY OF CHRISTENDOM.

As Virgil's one good man in the mob brought peace to the tumultuous populace, why should not Christianity now, with its immense civic power, with its leadership in education and politics and science and art and literature, tranquillize the mob of humanity? We have fourteen hundred millions of people on this wheeling globe, and they could easily be seated in an audience sixteen miles square. Divide that audience into four portions, each eight miles square, and the Christians would more than fill one of the squares. We have four hundred millions of nominal Christians in the world, and these are more than a quarter of the earth's population. A quarter of the world's audience, made up of Christians worthy of the name, and possessed of this great preponderance of power in all that constitutes human strength, might easily make the field of the world their own.

Christianity already has such influence as to be responsible for setting the moral standards of the whole world. My contention is, that to-day it has such power as to be fairly held answerable not only for national, but for international morality. If the Church is to imitate her Lord, she is to rise, and knot up the whip of small cords, and purge the whole earth as a temple, as our Lord of old did the temple of his chosen people. We are to purge Africa of the slave-trade, as we have purged Europe and America of it. We are to purge, in God's name, the Dark Continent and Asia not only of all inherited misbelief, but of imported unbelief. We are to elevate the condition of women in Asia and Africa and in all the isles of the sea. We are to whip out of existence paganism wherever it is found in any of these leafy or snowy zones.

In driving vices out of the temple of the nations, we should find the most recalcitrant offenders in Christian lands. We know what it has cost to whip human bondage out of Christendom. God knows what it will cost to drive out the liquor-traffic and harlotry. God knows what it will cost to

bring luxury to its senses, and divorce laws to a Christian standard. We have a recent agitation in the Church within the Church to teach that the standard of morality should be the same for men as for women; and this is already not only a national, but an international movement. The White Cross League is a vine planted originally on the sunny side of Durham Cathedral, but it has grown until America and Australia are a part of its trellis-work. Every great cause in our day is a banyan-tree with roots shooting down beneath Northern Bear and Southern Cross into all the acres of civilization. Evangelical alliances begin to make Christendom a unit. Young Men's Christian Associations, in the great cities and in the colleges, belt the globe. As the buoys yonder in Boston Harbor indicate where the deep water is, so Young Men's Christian Associations, all around the world, indicate where the deep waters of civilization are to be found. Where the Young Men's Christian Associations float, there you can float colleges and lecture-courses, and journals of other than the Satanic type, and not elsewhere.

In America we have a National Divorce Reform League, which might well be made international; we find improved journalism in many quarters, although, perhaps, not a satisfactory amount of it in any quarter, and we have last, but not least, the really Christian Church within a fringe of nominal Christians. And it is the Church within the Church that leads the Church, and more and more this Church of Christ dominates, as I think, on the table-lands of the rising continent of civilization, the Church of the world that builds on the sands and on the marshes.

ROCK AND SAND BENEATH THE CHURCH.

Having thus expressed my reverence for the high lands of civilization, let me now glance at its low and malarious coasts. What are some illustrations of building on the sands of our time? What do we see in the defalcations of the day? Christian reputations gibbeted with a frequency that startles all honorable men. I sat a few months ago in a

stately mansion in which luxury abounded and Christianity seemed to abound. The master of it touched a knob in his hallway, and lighted all the jets of electricity, from the basement to the roof. High themes of philosophy and religion were under discussion among the guests. One of the noblest of the reformers of New England was there, and seemed to be in the fullest sympathy with the atmosphere of the household. A little later, the head of that home was in jail for defalcation; and the evidence against him showed that he had been for years guilty of keeping false accounts, which commonly are called lies. I am not here to stir up memories too sad for public utterance; but you remember that scene in a certain grove in this Commonwealth, a man in middle life, sitting down alone on a bare rock under the open heavens, and putting an end by suicide to a career of commercial irregularity, led in some of the very highest business and social circles of New England. We do not hear of half the rascality that underlies commercial activity; and, if we were to hear of the whole of it, I have not the slightest doubt that the Church, although better than the world, would need to blush a dozen times where she blushes once now.

Municipal misrule exhibits its repulsive form so often in the daily press that we grow callous to the presence of civic corruption. In the National capital, not long ago, brave ladies brought before the gravest legislative body of the United States charges against the officials who conduct the government of the District of Columbia. What had they done? They had winked at gambling-dens and illegal liquor-saloons and brothels; and the District of Columbia is as much under the control of Congress as this State is under the control of the people in it. Congress does what it pleases in the District of Columbia. Grave senators rising to present the petition of these ladies to Congress made no denial of the charges; did not, indeed, indorse them, but indorsed the good character of the petitioners; and, in the debate which followed, the petition was substantially justified.

THE INCREASE OF CRIME.

We wash so much of our soiled linen in public that we have a worse name than we deserve in countries which wash their soiled linen in private. Nearly every crime in the United States goes into the newspaper pillory. We are not as bad as we seem. The exposure of vice increases, perhaps, more rapidly than vice itself. But since 1850, at least, we have had very accurate statistics; and it will not do to say that the apparent increase of crime in the United States is the result of increased diligence in the exposure of it, and not of the increase of crime itself. I take up statistics from an authoritative work, and read that the deaths from drink in every thousand of the population are, in England, two every year; Scotland, three; Ireland, two; France, two; Switzerland, three; Sweden, six; and in New York, my native State, twelve. (Mulhall: "Dictionary of Statistics.") The divorces and separations in every thousand marriages were in 1880, in England, two; Scotland, three; France, nine; in Massachusetts, forty-five. (Cries of *Shame*.) The ratio of murders per million has of late in England been 711, in Ireland, 883; in France, 796; in Germany, 837; in the United States, 2,460. What countries are worse than ours? We have an immense frontier; but only Italy, only hot-blooded Spain, exceeds us in the proportion of murders to the population. Italy has 3,024, and Spain 3,200 against our 2,460. What is worse than all this is that throughout the range of Christendom, represented by England, Scotland, France, and the United States, the number of divorces between 1870 and 1880 more than doubled in each of the countries.

What shall we say of the complicity of our Government with the liquor-traffic? Ninety cents on every gallon of whiskey manufactured in this country goes to the General Government; and so you, and you, and I, so far as we support that arrangement, are made participators in the profit of blood money. (Applause.)

TEMPTATIONS OF LOW-PAID LABOR.

You open elaborate accounts of the condition of the shop-girls; and you read, even in the official documents of this State, propositions that make your blood curdle. The sales-woman must dress well, but she is paid a mere pittance. "Yes," says an employer of a girl who tells him that she cannot dress well on her wages, "I know that; but you must dress well somehow."

"Alas for the 'saleslady' who falls into the snare of some city establishment which advertised for help, and whose proprietor told her, when 'the terms' were being settled, that she could get so much more per week, if she would 'obey any orders they might give her'! She should dress in as many furbelows as she pleased, at the price of her own honor. So frequent has this bait of filthy lucre become, that our social purity workers will, it is hoped, soon add to their efforts for the legal protection of women the attempt to secure such enactments as shall make it a penal offence for any man to offer such wages to women as will not suffice respectably to board and clothe them." — *Social Purity Series*. "Dress and Vice." By FRANCES E. WILLARD.

I dare not be more explicit, but I have repeatedly seconded this timely suggestion. On both sides the sea, low wages are forcing defenceless girls into temptations that cannot be named before a mixed assembly; and not merely commerce with its grinding greed, but the Church with its Satanic inertness, is morally responsible for this condition of affairs. (Loud applause.)

The Church in certain quarters has much complicity with fashionable society for the crimes that our loose divorces cover. Let us not here and now dwell again, although on a former occasion we dwelt none too long, on recent exposures of Minotaurism in London and other great towns. The time is coming, now that the Church has been separated from the State, when the Church must draw herself out of all complicity with lawless practices of high society, even if aristocracies do remain in the magic circle.

THE CHURCH AS A TRUE ARISTOCRACY.

Aristocracies are passing away. Soon the only thoroughly influential aristocracy that will be left on earth must be made

up of church-members who are worthy of the name. (Applause.) Americans are ridiculed by European aristocrats for having here no leisured and propertied class, that can maintain the standard of manners and morals. Do the leisured and propertied classes of England, Germany, France, always set a perfect example? Heaven forbid that I should bring a railing accusation against a whole class, but it is very well understood that the effect of aristocratic institutions has been quite too often morally questionable; at any rate, we Americans think so. While some of the noblest men and women are in the noble families of the world, recent history painfully reminds us that some who are the least fit to be exemplars are there also.

“Here and there a cotter’s babe is royal born by right Divine;
Here and there my lord is lower than his oxen or his swine.”

TENNYSON: *Locksley Hall Sixty Years After*.

On the whole, Americans do not regret the absence in this country of an effortless and propertied class to set a standard of manners and morals. And this is our reply to Mr. Mill, who calls us all middle class. The Church must and will apply a higher test than that of birth to determine social rank. If the world is to be saved in the decadence of aristocracies, in the decay of family life, in the decline of former notions of chivalric honor, it must be saved by an aristocracy which Christ himself founded when he girded himself with a towel, and washed his disciples’ feet. (Applause.)

Individualism is an immense, moral, social, and intellectual peril in an age as democratic as ours. Nihilism and Anarchy are the legitimate daughters of Atheism and Individualism.

“Chaos, Cosmos! Cosmos, chaos! who can tell how all will end?

Read the world’s wide annals, you, and take their wisdom for your friend.

“Hope the best, but hold the present fatal daughter of the past;

Shape your heart to front the hour, but dream not the hour will last.

“Ay, if dynamite and revolver leave you courage to be wise,

When was age so crammed with menace, madness, written, spoken lies?”

TENNYSON.

Do as you please, — that is said to be a fair definition of American liberty ; but it is not such inside the Church. I will not dwell on the growth of great cities, and the intermingling of circles that love luxury with those that are supposed to love duty more than any thing else. Why dwell on so obvious a fact, as that love of display leads to venturesome speculation, and so to terrific defalcations?

Religious perils peculiarly beset rich and inactive churches. There was a time when this city was both blessed and cursed by the success of the East India trade. There were very wealthy families here that could not bear severe doctrine. Soft doctrine was preached, therefore, and history knows what the results have been. They are largely, and yet by no means wholly, outgrown. But wealth is coming in upon us in all our cities now. The experience of Boston in her earlier novel prosperity is becoming the experience of scores of cities. It is nothing to be wealthy now ; it is nothing to have millionnaires in the Senate ; it is nothing to have our national surplus a hundred millions a year. But it is something to have this weight of luxury poured into the lap of the Church. It dangerously increases that bondage to fashion which sometimes undermines the strongest character, and that intermingling of the Church with the world that makes the marsh around this rising continent so malarious.

WESTERN VICES IN THE FAR EAST.

What I insist on is that creed and deed in the circles of church-members must in some way be made parallel ; and this not only because of the importance of the maintenance of national morality, but because of the international issues of fidelity to Christian standards. Lord Dufferin not long ago in Madras received an ovation from the native population. In the great temple there, at a spot I well remember, he was received by singing-girls. He was placed under a silken umbrella marvellously ornamented, addresses were read to him, and finally a petition was made. From whom? From the temple girls themselves. For what? That the

law would not prevent fathers from allowing their daughters to become temple girls. Who are the temple girls of paganism? Ask the missionaries. Where England makes the law in India, it is a crime to dedicate a daughter to the service of a pagan temple, as it would be a crime here to send a daughter into a life of infamy, and for the same reason. Lord Dufferin denied this petition. He said with his usual suavity and incisiveness, "I fear this is a good law which you ask me to repeal." But while one Englishman, — who has, perhaps, more power than any other Englishman on the globe, except the premier, or except the occupant of the throne in the British Islands — thus does his duty, while scores and scores near him do their duty, how many Englishmen and Americans in the courts of the Occident are a scandal to civilization! Americans, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, Austrians, sometimes lead in the ports of China and India worse lives than the pagans. There is a traffic in Japanese young women, and it is maintained largely by men from the Occident. And while the globe all lies open, men of your blood, men of your nationality, are poisoning the Orient with worse vices than the Orient itself produced in the nest of vipers which paganism hatched. I am speaking deliberately, for I am speaking after some opportunity to observe what goes on in the Oriental seaports. And I assure you that among the worst of the mischiefs on the globe to-day is the international circulation, not merely of rationalistic theories as to Christianity, not merely of the unbelief which Europe throws out upon half-educated nations, but of moral lepers from the Occident, wealthy, audacious, utterly unscrupulous, who nest themselves in pits of infamy, along the coasts of India and China and Japan.

AGGRESSIVE ACTIVITY OF ALL BELIEVERS.

There was a time when Christians in the apostolic age were scattered abroad, and went everywhere preaching the Word. In our age the opportunity of intercommunication should be occupied by the aggressive activity of all believ-

ers. The Church can be kept pure only by religious activity. The best winnower of Christian wheat from nominally Christian chaff is the requirement of Christian work from all who call themselves Christians. There is no way of counteracting the mischiefs of the marshes of civilization except by multiplying the number of those who live on the high lands. We must so stir those to activity, that the world itself shall be convinced that it has nothing to hope for from those who build on the marsh.

When house after house topples over, when suddenly some stately building drops out of sight, as one now and then does on the levee of the Mississippi, undermined secretly, let us not say Christianity is a failure. Face to face with the upheavals of new spiritual continents, let us repeat what was said of old: "He who heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him to a man who built his house upon a rock. But he who heareth these sayings of mine and doeth them not, I will liken him to a man who built his house upon the sand; and the wind blew and the rain descended and beat upon that house, and it fell, and great was the fall of it." (Applause.)

Mr. Cook read the following telegraphic despatch from Mrs. M. H. Hunt:—

WASHINGTON, March 4, 1887.

"The Forty-ninth Congress has adjourned. The Fiftieth will pass the Educational Bill. It is a victory like Gettysburg; Appomattox next." (Applause.)

Let the hope and courage of this noble lady be our own. (Applause.)

QUESTIONS.

What shall be done to prevent anti-Chinese outrages on the Pacific Coast?

The gentleman who is to answer a question concerning the best methods of suppressing anti-Chinese riots on the Pacific slope has himself imperilled his life in suppressing such riots. He has stood in the face of mobs in Seattle far toward the setting sun. I have been on the very wharves where he assisted to put down riotous demonstrations against the unoffending Chinese. I have the honor to introduce the Rev. Louis Albert Banks, recently of Washington Territory. (Applause.)

MR. BANKS. What shall be done to prevent anti-Chinese outrages on the Pacific Coast? My answer is, let the Government of the United States remove the badge of dishonor that it placed upon the Chinese, a perpetual invitation to persecution and oppression. (Applause.) The law of California said three classes shall never be naturalized, — criminals, paupers, and Chinese. The national Congress re-affirmed that law, and gave it supremacy from sea to sea. Against paupers and criminals it has been very liberally construed; against the Chinese, rigidly enforced. A Chinaman may be as wise as Confucius, an intelligent, educated, noble Christian gentleman; but he is classed with criminals, and placed on a level with paupers, by your law concerning citizenship. A disfranchised class is ever an oppressed class. The Indian, shivering under his torn and tattered blanket of more than a century of dishonor, is a sufficient proof for that statement. (Applause.) There is one judgment day that a politician believes in: that is election day. If a donkey could vote, he would be crowned with laurel, he would be fawned upon by political sycophants, and we should have platforms built to catch the donkey vote. (Laughter.)

When the United States Government doubly barred the western gate-way against the Chinaman to keep him out, and when it refused to recognize the manhood of the Chinaman here, — while at the same time the doors on the east were open to take in the human sewage of London, of Berlin, and of Dublin, — it put upon the Chinamen an insult cruel, undeserved, un-Christian, un-American. (Loud applause.) It is said that because the Chinese send two million dollars a year across the sea to support their families and friends in China, they should not be made citizens. The distinguished Irish agitator now in America is responsible for the statement that the Irish in America send seventy million dollars a year to support families in Ireland.

Whether that be true or not, as for me, I would to God that the foreigners in America who are not Chinese would take the half a thousand million dollars that they pour annually into the gaping hell of the liquor-traffic (applause), thereby debauching our politics and desecrating our sabbath, and send it over the sea to their king-ridden and priest-ridden and impoverished brethren. (Applause.) The world would be happier, and America would be more decent. (Prolonged applause.)

MR. COOK. You see what thunderbolts there are in this cloud of hearers. I advise questioners to draw lightning often from specialists in this audience. (Loud applause.)

Mrs. Foster of Iowa, whose zeal in the cause of temperance we all greatly honor, is on the platform (loud applause); and I venture to put to her the very natural question —

What are the prospects of non-partisan prohibition in the United States?

Mrs. FOSTER. In view of the terrible arraignment of the country and the race, to which we have listened, let me say: Hitherto the Lord hath led us. He did come; he did die on Calvary; his truth is being preached from the high lands, and this platform is among those high lands. And, although the marsh is so wide and is so deep, the high lands are safe. And so I say of myself, and I say of all the sorrow and the anguish in the country and in the race, Hitherto the Lord hath led us. (Applause.)

Non-partisan prohibition seeks to gain the votes of honest men everywhere for the putting away of the greatest curse that afflicts the human race. In various States of the nation, as you know, the grandest movement of all, constitutional prohibition, is now pending. In four States during this year the popular verdict will be for or against the rum-shops. In two other States the legislatures have taken the initiatory steps, which will doubtless be confirmed two years hence. So that I believe that within ten years, yes, within six years, I think I may say, we shall have six new States in which there will not be a licensed dram-shop. (Applause.) Is not that a magnificent result to contemplate? Is it not enough to swell the heart of the Christian and the patriot?

Men of Massachusetts, the prospects are not very pleasing here. It is not entirely sure that the Legislature now in session on the hill will submit this question to you. But in every town which you carry for no license, in every election in which you are successful in a battle within a limited area, you are securing vantage-ground for the great struggle which will come to you for constitutional prohibition. (Applause.) So I commend to you most earnestly the new no-license organization which has been formed in the State of Massachusetts for this express purpose. The option is with the town or with the county, or with the ward, as some of our friends hope to construe the present Act of the Legislature. In the State the option is with the people of the State, and by and by the option will be with the people of the nation. (Loud applause.)

LECTURE V.

MODERN NOVEL OPPORTUNITY IN THE SPIRITUAL LIFE.

WATCHWORDS OF THEISTIC REALISM.

LIFE from Life, will from Will, conscience from Conscience, personality from Personality, — these are now the watchwords of theistic realism in philosophy, and are of the most supreme importance in the spiritual life of our age.

What do I mean by theistic realism? All philosophy is a search for reality. Realism is the philosophy which teaches that the mind can and does know realities, and not mere appearances. It is to be sharply distinguished from agnosticism and phenomenalism, which assert that the mind can know appearances only. Theistic realism is the philosophy which teaches not only that we can know realities, but that God is behind all realities.

Theistic realism has several forms, with either of which its principles agree, such as natural realism, rational realism, and ideal realism. It is everywhere opposed to pantheism and materialism and agnosticism.

It is the cumulative triumph of philosophy through many ages to have established realism in philosophy. We know realities, and we know that we know them; and this not only within the soul, but outside the soul, or something objective as well as something subjective.

"In harmony with the scientific spirit of the age, we refuse the dogma that things in themselves are unknown. Admitting that the rational is the real, we read the rational into the phenomenal, and through the phenomenal into the existing." — Professor H. CALDERWOOD, on "The Condition of Philosophy in Great Britain," *New Princeton Review*, January, 1887, p. 26.

We dream, and seem to behold the Alps or the St. Lawrence or the great plains of the West. We wake; they are but a dream. So, according to the idealists, all matter around us,

the entire universe with its bespangled roof, is but a dream. But even to the idealists the interior of the soul is no dream. That is a reality in itself, absolutely indispersable by any of the keenest winds of scepticism.

Realism is opposed to idealism, in asserting with Aristotle, with Leibnitz, with Sir William Hamilton, with Lotze, that we know that reality exists outside of us, as well as within us, and that we know also that the reality beyond the soul is of a kind different from the reality within the soul.

Natural realism is the doctrine that we know both matter and mind; or that there are these two things in the universe, and that we are as sure of the existence of one as of the other.

Ideal realism believes in the existence of both matter and mind, but explains matter by mind. It is, after all, a more advanced form of philosophy than natural realism, for the question rises constantly, What lies behind matter? Ideal realism, which was Lotze's system of philosophy, answers that question,—God. Matter is only visible force. Behind matter, behind all finite mind, we come to God, so that, wherever we touch reality in the world of matter or mind, we touch him.

The reality of the Divine Omnipresence transfigures the universe. This truth has a power in the spiritual life comparable to that of the moon and of the sun on the tides. I remember well when I used to see Agassiz and Professor Pierce in Harvard University walking on quiet afternoons through the academic shades yonder, saying to each other, "Force is God's will, and natural law is the fixed method of the action of God's will." That was very good natural realism. But ideal realism goes yet farther, and finds God, not only behind force, not only behind law, but behind matter and self-evident truth. It finds all souls and the universe floating in God as the cloud in the air; and God as unescapable by us as gravitation is unescapable by the planets.

PROFESSOR SAMUEL HARRIS ON RATIONAL REALISM.

Professor Harris of Yale College has just published an elaborate work on "The Self-Revelation of God." It is full of passages of high spiritual as well as philosophical power, based on what he loves to call rational realism. And by this he means not precisely what Lotze did by ideal realism, and yet very nearly the same: —

"In rational intuition the mind knows universal truths, and knows them as laws to all thought and action. It has the fundamental ideas of the true, the right, the perfect, and of the good estimated by reason as having true worth. These are universal, transcending the person seeing them in the light of reason. Human reason cannot leave them disintegrated and without substantial being, but must know them as principles, laws, ideas of the universal and absolute reason. And, when we study the universe, we find revealed in it the ideas of the true, the right, the perfect, and the good, which we have already found in our own rational intuition, and in our own constitution, as rational beings. Thus reason finds in the universe, in nature, and in man the presence and direction of the universal and absolute Reason. The universe is known in the forms of reason as dependent on God, and as the revelation of him. Thus scientific knowledge is inseparable from the knowledge of God. In its essence as science, it must, explicitly or implicitly, recognize God, the absolute Reason, as the ground of the universe; and on this the truth of all its conclusions depends. Such is rational realism." — HARRIS: *The Self-Revelation of God*, pp. 79, 80.

PRESIDENT McCOSH'S REALISTIC PHILOSOPHY.

President McCosh has recently published two eloquent volumes under the title of "Realistic Philosophy," and they are the ripe fruit of a lifetime devoted to philosophy and ethics. He wishes to make the best form of natural realism the American philosophy. No one living has a better right than he to speak in the name of the Scottish school: —

"Aristotle was the first to establish the grand truth that the senses do not deceive, and that the errors arise from the wrong interpretation of the information given by the senses. By the help of the distinctions drawn by him, and since his time by the Scottish school and others, we can stand up for the trustworthiness of the senses, and do not require to call in to our help 'ideas' with Locke, or 'impressions' with Hume, or 'phenomena' with Kant; and we may follow our natural convictions implicitly, and regard the mind as perceiving things immediately, and run no risks of deceptions or contradictions.

"The knowledge of self as conscious, along with the knowledge of a not self as external and extended, is the beginning of all our knowledge. All our other cognition presupposes this and proceeds upon it. This knowledge is of real things, and all knowledge legitimately built upon it is also of realities." — McCOSH: *Realistic Philosophy*, vol. i. pp. 10, 20.

Theistic realism affirms that all of reality is from God, and so includes the entire truth of ideal realism, as well as of natural and rational realism. When I affirm that the philosophy of theistic realism is the crowning work of our age, I shall be justified by pointing to the success of the philosophy of ideal realism under Lotze in the acutest philosophical nation of the world. There is not a man over forty years of age in Germany to-day, who has given himself to metaphysical studies, on whom Lotze has not put his mark. I prefer the phrase theistic realism, for it covers ideal realism and rational realism and natural realism, and puts us face to face with the loftiest philosophical and ethical thought of our time.

GOD IN THE SOUL.

Of what value in the spiritual life is theistic realism in philosophy, or the certainty of the Divine Personal Omnipresence in all Reality? Of what value is the sun to the vegetation of the globe?

There is a life within the life of my body. My heart beats without any exercise of will on my part. (See Professor A. H. Strong's "Systematic Theology," p. 441.) Here is life hardly under my control in the respirations on which I live. I can cause them to cease for a little while; but I must live by breathing, and so there is a necessity laid upon me to take in the vital air. And then, behind all this, something mysterious which shines in the eyes is life. I have no control of it; its laws I did not make. I am moved by it in every fibre, but I did not give life to a single fibre.

Now, just as in the body you have in these facts three exemplifications of a life within our life, so in the soul the conscience is a Life within our life. It is a Heart that beats whether we will or not. God is in it. And action of

the soul in yielding to conscience is like the respiration of vital spiritual air. We breathe God if we will; and we must, to some extent, if we are to live as souls. But the very Life behind the soul is God's. His three names are Life, Light, Love. And he beats in each soul as a Heart. He has so made us that we must breathe him, we must yield to him, if we are to live. But behind all life, so limited, so dependent, such a mere spark, is the Life of him of whom Christ said, "God hath Life in himself." That is to say, God is self-existent; and he giveth to the Son to have Life in himself, and to as many as receive him he giveth power to become the sons of God.

What I fear is the beating of the Heart of self-evident truth in the universe of souls, while the souls are not loyal to it. What I fear is this necessity laid upon all finite creatures to breathe God loyally, and the death that comes from the refusal so to breathe him. What I fear is the consuming fire which arises in the soul when the Life that lies behind our life is in dissonance with our life itself, because of our disloyalty. We cannot escape from the ocean of self-evident truth. We cannot escape the beating of this Heart, and the solicitations of our souls for vital breath; for life cannot flee from Life, can it, while life lasts?

Two questions are of supreme importance to the progress of ethical science and religion in our vexed age, —

1. What is required by self-surrender to the self-evident?
2. What is required by the imitation of Christ?

What is known by the soul before its self-surrender to the self-evident? What is known by the soul after that self-surrender? What is known by assent to the self-evident? What is known by consent to the self-evident?

RELIGIOUS CERTAINTIES IN THEISTIC REALISM.

What is known before self-surrender to the self-evident?

1. There is an Eternal Power, not ourselves, that makes for Rationality.
2. There is an Eternal Power, not ourselves, that makes for Beauty.

3. There is an Eternal Power, not ourselves, that makes for Righteousness.

4. Exposure to this Power is a necessity to all finite existences.

5. Exposure to God means heaven for the completely and permanently loyal soul.

6. Exposure to God means perdition for the completely and permanently disloyal soul.

7. All character tends to a final permanence, good or bad.

8. Every soul, as existing in God and under this law, is of necessity put under probation by its environment.

9. There is not only a moral order, but a moral Governor, who requires immediate obedience.

10. The Conscience requires the soul to yield immediately to all the light it possesses.

11. It teaches that when we suppress light, we incur guilt.

12. We are constantly suppressing light, until we yield to the dictate of Conscience as to the duty of yielding to all light.

13. Deliverance from the love of sin is necessary to the peace of the soul with its environment.

14. Deliverance from the guilt of sin is also necessary.

15. A New Birth is demonstrably necessary for the deliverance of the soul from the love of sin; an Atonement for its deliverance from the guilt of sin.

16. An Atonement cannot be made by the merit of man, but only by the grace and unmerited mercy of God.

17. It would be immoral in itself, and of immoral tendency, for God to justify a soul that persists in sin.

18. Justification by grace and justification by right character, or justification by faith and justification by faithfulness, are both supreme necessities of the soul, and known to be such by ethical science, wholly aside from revelation; and these two, justification by faith and justification by faithfulness, are in fundamental principle one.

In all this, I am quoting, not the New Testament nor the Old Testament, but the oldest Testament, — self-evident

truth itself, and the plainest inferences from it. The *cans* and *can not*s of the Holy Word make constant appeals to this oldest record: why should not I?

So much is known before the surrender of the soul to the self-evident. What is known after?

Spectrum analysis of the light of conscience is lawful, not only in its earlier stages, but when the lenses of the soul have been so adjusted as to produce in the poor human instrument a distinct image of the star in heaven. After self-surrender of the soul to the self-evident truths which I have just recited has been made completely, irreversibly, affectionately, there follows an experience which is a fact of science, and from which you are to draw inferences in ethical research. Here is the best book on this theme I have ever seen: and, as one of the objects of this lectureship is to call attention to whatever is valuable in current literature on the topics discussed here, I ask every student to read Professor Frank's "System of Christian Certainty." (T. & T. Clark's Theological Library, Edinburgh, 1886.) What is it? A system of spectrum analysis of the new light received by the regenerate soul. This volume is highly enough approved in Scotland to be translated into our tongue, and is really a scheme of spectrum analysis of the light from the Sun behind the sun.

When self-surrender has been made perfect, —

1. More light follows obedience to light. The path of the just grows brighter to the perfect day.
2. A deeper sense of sin follows more light.
3. A profounder sense of the Divine Omnipresence follows self-surrender to all the light the soul possesses.
4. Increased peace.
5. Increased spiritual strength.
6. A sense of forgiveness.
7. A sense of oneness with God.
8. A certainty that prayer for spiritual blessings is immediately answered, when prayer means self-surrender to God.
9. A conviction that this new light, peace, and strength

come from above, and can proceed only from the contact and enswathement of the Divine Personality.

10. A constantly increasing receptivity of the soul for God, and a constantly increasing bliss in co-operation with God.

These are truths of science, not of revelation merely. No one sentence of Lord Bacon ever moved me so profoundly as this: "When the soul resolves to perform every duty, it is immediately conscious of the presence of the gods." When the soul bows utterly to all duty known to it, the yoke transforms itself into a crown. Will you try what such surrender will do for you? The experience of ten thousand times ten thousand of the saints of God, and I had almost said the experience, it may be, of thousands of thousands who have found God outside of Christianity, — for we are told that before the throne there will be thousands from every nation and tribe and kingdom and tongue, — justify the assertion, that whoever yields to God finds more light streaming in upon him at the instant of such total, irreversible yielding. That is a fact of ethical science. It is a law in Scripture, to be sure, but it is a law in psychology also; and I present it as such, and as wholly incontestible.

So much in reply to the question, What is required by self-surrender to the self-evident in both assent and consent?

SOURCES OF A DEEP SPIRITUAL LIFE.

Exposure to Reality is exposure to God. Contact with the True, the Beautiful, and the Good is contact with that Eternal Personal Power, not ourselves, which makes for Rationality, for Beauty, and for Righteousness. Co-operation with the Ethical Law revealed in the realities of Conscience is co-operation with God. Fellowship with the Eternal Reason is Fellowship with the Eternal Word.

In this presence it will not be necessary for me to answer the question, What is required by the Imitation of Christ? All this and vastly more, indeed, but nothing contrary to this. I am not asserting the sufficiency of natural realism, or of ideal realism, or of rational realism, or of theistic realism.

I am asserting only its efficiency. God who said, Let there be light, and there was light, has revealed his highest glory, so far as it is known to man, only in the face of Jesus Christ. But my contention is that the light of the sun is not in conflict with the light of the feeblest star of reason, and that the self-evident truths which are the mode of action of the Eternal Reason are one with the Eternal Word which was revealed in Christ. In self-surrender to rationality and beauty and righteousness, or the True, the Beautiful, and the Good, we yield to the Personality of God, by whom we are enswathed, and whom we can never escape.

From what does a deep spiritual life arise?

A profound sense of the Divine Omnipresence.

A profound conviction of sin.

A profound conviction of the necessity of the new birth.

A profound conviction of the necessity of the Atonement.

A profound conviction of the necessity of justifying faith.

A profound conviction of the efficacy of prayer.

A profound conviction of the reality of heaven.

A profound conviction of the reality of perdition.

The fear of God, which is the beginning of wisdom.

That love of God which casteth out fear.

In all these particulars new opportunity lies before the spiritual life of the world, and the opportunity is opened by theistic realism in philosophy and ethical science. Let us thank God that the Eternal Reason and the Eternal Word require both Self-surrender to the Self-evident and the Imitation of Christ, and show that these two are one. Let us rejoice that reason and revelation thus combine to deluge the ascending path of all loyal feet, not only with a high noon of spiritual truth, but with noon risen on mid-noon. (Applause.)

VI.

MODERN NOVEL OPPORTUNITY IN
COMPARATIVE RELIGION.

WITH A PRELUDE ON

HENRY WARD BEECHER AS PREACHER AND REFORMER.

THE 192^d LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP,
DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE, MARCH 14, 1887.

BOSTON HYMN.

HEAVEN'S TRELLIS-BARS.

SUNG AT TREMONT TEMPLE, MARCH 14, AT THE ONE HUNDRED AND
NINETY-SECOND BOSTON MONDAY LECTURE.

1. CLASP, my soul, Heaven's trellis-bars ;
Grow thou broad beyond the stars.
Let thy clusters, every one,
Bloom of blissful duty done
Ripen in God's upper sun.
2. Many mansions hath the sky.
Which is best — to live or die?
Earth grows empty, bleak, and waste,
Full the world to which I haste,
Sweet the Death-wave's bitter taste.
3. God doth give, and God doth take ;
Let His will our trellis make.
Fragile stays God's hands remove ;
They are gone whom yet I love ;
Trellis high are they above.
4. Spirits ministrant, elate,
Watch and lift man's low estate.
They with Thee, and Thou with me,
Cling we to one Trellis-tree ;
One in God's wide sunlight we.
5. Shall I joy to meet my own
When with them I face Thy throne?
They will not return to me ;
I shall go to them — and Thee !
Let Thy love our trellis be.
6. Cover from Thy holy face
Guilt by Thy atoning grace.
White the robes before Thy throne ;
White, O God, make Thou my own !
All souls' Trellis, Thou alone.

JOSEPH COOK.

INVOCATION.

ALMIGHTY God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, may we adore all Thine attributes. Wilt Thou deliver us from the peril of a fragmentary view of Thy nature. May we worship not only Thy love, but Thy justice also; not only Thy gentleness, but Thy holiness; not only those traits of Thine which make it impossible for Thee to break the bruised reed, or quench the smoking flax, but also those which make Thee a consuming fire. Wilt Thou fill the Church and our families and the schools and the State and all nations with right thoughts of Thyself. And so may civilization rise up and become a pillar of fire, casting forth lightnings of reform on all sides; a pillar of fire through which Thou shalt Thyself look in the morning watch of better ages to come, and trouble the host of Thine enemies, and take off their chariot-wheels, for Christ's sake. Amen.

PRELUDE VI.

HENRY WARD BEECHER AS PREACHER AND REFORMER.

AN audience of extraordinary size and quality was present at Mr. Cook's one hundred and ninety-second Boston Monday lecture. A Boston newspaper says that by eleven o'clock the entrances to the hall were blocked by a crowd waiting for the opening of the doors. Many people throughout the service were standing at the doors of both balconies. The uppermost rear gallery was well filled. The platform was crowded. The Rev. Dr. A. J. Gordon presided. The hymn entitled "Heaven's Trellis-Bars" was sung by the whole audience, rising, and under the leadership of Mr. T. P. Ryder at the organ. After the prelude prayer was offered by Rev. Samuel Small, the evangelist. Among the great number of preachers of all denominations present were the Rev. Professor Park of Andover and Dr. C. A. Bartol, the latter of whom took part by a brief prayer.

MR. BEECHER ON THE CROSS OF SLANDER.

It is certain that Mr. Beecher was a great preacher and a great reformer; and it is at least possible, and multitudes

think it certain, that he was also a great martyr. For the last fourteen years, he has endured moral crucifixion. If wholly innocent, he is the most pathetic figure which in any recent age of the world has been nailed to the cross of slander, and lifted up in the presence of all nations. If the victim of misconception and malice, how heroic has been his attitude, how patient, how resplendently Christ-like! He was bold as any lion; he was also tender as any drop of dew. By the mercy of God, it is ordained that no arrow can produce rancor in a really pure soul; but many an arrow can lacerate even those who have clean hearts. If it shall be proved that this hero of a thousand battle-fields of reform was a yet greater hero on the battle-field of slander, we shall regard him as a great preacher, and a great reformer, indeed; but the supreme exemplification of his greatness will be in his character as a martyr.

There are three parties among the people on the question as to Mr. Beecher's character as a man,—believers, unbelievers, and perplexed. If I may mention my own opinion, as some guaranty to you that I am speaking dispassionately, I will say that I am, and always have been, simply among the perplexed. I can keep my patience in presence of both believers and unbelievers.

OUTLINE OF HIS CAREER.

Henry Ward Beecher was born at Litchfield, Connecticut, June 24, 1813. He was graduated from Amherst College, 1834; and from Lane Theological Seminary, 1837. He settled as a frontier minister at Lawrenceburg, Ind., 1837; and at Indianapolis, 1839. He became pastor of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, 1847; began publication of sermons, 1859; was editor of the Independent, 1861-63; visited England, 1863; became editor of the Christian Union, 1870; occupied the chair of the Lyman Beecher lectureship at Yale College, 1871; was tried on charges by Theodore Tilton, 1874; announced new views in theology, 1878; withdrew from the Brooklyn Association of Congregational Churches, 1882;

and visited England, 1886. He died at Brooklyn, March 8, 1887. This is a long and crowded life. It leads through the most strenuous and momentous period of American history.

MR. BEECHER AS PREACHER.

What is the proof that Mr. Beecher was a great preacher?

As preacher, as reformer, as a man, there were an earlier and a later Henry Ward Beecher. When I speak of him as a great preacher and a great reformer, I mean the earlier Mr. Beecher. My contention is that his chief achievements, both as preacher and reformer, came from his earlier and not from his later theology. Something of his success resulted from hereditary momentum. But we must attribute his remarkable victory over all kinds of opposition to the truth he taught; to the affection with which he clasped his friends, his church, his nation, and humanity at large; and to the very marvellous combination of powers with which he defended what he regarded as sound views. I will not be tiresome in massing the well-known list of glorious faculties in the constellation of his spirit; but look at the admirable cluster. Common-sense, intensity of temperament, social warmth, benevolence, patriotism, imagination, wit, power of expression, physical vigor, courage, knowledge of human nature, religious earnestness. These things combined made him a man not only of myriad mind, but of myriad heart; and as such he was a phenomenon not likely soon to be paralleled. When so many stars belong to one constellation, and each may have a motion peculiar to itself, the groupings possible among the bright points are almost innumerable. This man was kaleidoscopic. He was a phenomenon to those nearest him, in the mobility of his moods; and he is not to be judged as ordinary men, who have three or four bright faculties only. Whatever you think of his character, he was the Shakspeare of the pulpit in our day, and as such is to be studied for the suggestiveness of the multitude of points at which he touched the population.

Robert Hall was a greater preacher to scholars; Jonathan Edwards, in many respects, a greater preacher both to theologians and to the Church. But who has covered, within the field of pulpit discussions, a wider range of reform and of evangelical truth? Mr. Beecher, in his earlier career, was highly effective in revivals. He was, in some sense, an evangelist. Plymouth Church began with twenty-one members; and in eleven years it had more than thirteen hundred, the result of five great revivals under Mr. Beecher's earlier ministry. It has now about twenty-five hundred members. Charles Hodge said at Princeton, "Whatever fault men find with Mr. Beecher's head, his heart is right."

Mr. Beecher was, by temperament, choice, and half a century of practice, an extemporaneous speaker. He wrote much, and often marvellously well; but perhaps not enough. Quintillian says that we never so much need the discipline of writing out our thoughts as when we speak oftenest extemporaneously. Mrs. Stowe has assured us that in college and early private self-instruction Mr. Beecher's rhetorical and elocutionary training was exceedingly severe and exact. Like that of Webster and Phillips, Mr. Beecher's conversation was remarkably perfect; for he never allowed himself to use slovenly, broken, stiff, or obscure phrases. The highest charm of the conversational rhythms of style often appears in his public speech. His best passages seemed to originate from the inspiration of his highest moods in presence of audiences. He was conscientious in not speaking on subjects he had not studied, but uttered himself with thorough abandon when he had once taken up a theme. He is said to have been a slow, but he was a very multifarious, reader. His mind was always turned towards the future of reform in politics, morals, education, and religion. "I study every thing," he once said, "except theology."

His earlier and later studies of human nature, and most of his public presentations of ethical and religious truth, were based on phrenology. He began the study of man in college, and continued it to the end of his life. In late years he

devoted much attention to Herbert Spencer's writings, but apparently little to the sounder and more acute forms of philosophical thought. He was a theistic evolutionist in both philosophy and theology.

An orator, like an author, is best understood and measured by the mood he usually inspires. Mr. Beecher was capable of inspiring easily a heroic mood, hatred of oppression, intense patriotism, personal friendship, love of Nature, laughter, tears, good fellowship. He was not so capable of inspiring reverence, exact conscientiousness, and logical insight. To him who loves much, there shall much be forgiven. No doubt this man loved his nation and mankind with an over-mastering spiritual passion.

CENTRAL THOUGHTS IN HIS RELIGIOUS TEACHING.

The central thoughts in Mr. Beecher's theology were Christ and Love. Looking for the jugular vein and the carotid artery in his biography, you find these thoughts wherever his inmost life comes to view. But the beginning of this deep current in his soul did not occur early.

"Till after I was twenty-one years old, I groped without the knowledge of God in Christ Jesus. I know not what the tablets of eternity have written down; but I think that when I stand in Zion, and before God, the brightest thing which I shall look back upon will be that blessed morning of May when it pleased God to reveal to my wandering soul the idea that it was his nature to love a man in his sins for the sake of helping him out of them; that he did not do it out of compliment to Christ, or to a law, or a plan of salvation, but from the fulness of his great heart; that he was a Being not made mad by sin, but sorry; that he was not furious with wrath toward the sinner, but pitied him, — in short, that he felt toward me as my mother felt toward me, to whose eyes my wrong-doing brought tears, who never pressed me so close to her as when I had done wrong, and who would fain, with her yearning love, lift me out of trouble." — ABBOTT: "Henry Ward Beecher," pp. 35, 36.

This is the deepest source of Mr. Beecher's theology in his earlier preaching, and, indeed, in his later. This is the organizing and redemptive principle in his teaching. No doubt there fell upon him here, through a rift in the clouds, a ray from the heaven of heavens, and not merely illumination

from the aurora borealis of his own idiosyncrasies, or of speculation in philosophy. His irreverent attitude towards systematic theology is explained, partly, by the disgust he acquired early with theological warfare. His father's experience was not a winsome gate for this independent youth into the penetralia of evangelical thought. He heard the old school of theology and the new school as they clashed swords. Mr. Beecher has frequently said his father had very little influence over him in theology. His father's character moulded him, but his theology he drew very largely from his own deep and intense, and yet rather fragmentary, spiritual experience.

Mr. Beecher's great traits I have named; but there are a number of points on which, I suppose, most of us think he might have been more fully endowed. For instance, he could have had more reverence. He could have had more logical power without harm, not to say that he was specially deficient in it. He could have had a less flexible conscience, and not have been made a mere ironclad in theology. He could have had a somewhat more refined taste, and as a result would not have offended many by certain of his illustrations and irreverent metaphors concerning doctrines which he opposed. Whether a slight flexibility of conscience was idiosyncratic with him, I do not pretend to decide; but certain it is that in his religious philosophy he put conscience below benevolence. In his study of human nature, and his chief study was man, he did not make conscience the queen, but benevolent affection. Just so in theology, he placed what he called the love of God above the justice of God.

According to what careful scholars regard as sound thought, the love of God and the justice of God are quadrants in one circle; they run into each other. When you make these quadrants co-ordinate, each as authoritative as the other, you may build on them a tower that leads to godliness. When you drop the quadrant of justice, and let it underlap the quadrant of love, you let out a river of gush. (Laughter.) There is a gospel that makes iron-sides. Mr. Beecher, unfortunately, preached too often another gospel which makes

hardly more than jolly-sides. Which is the better? Ask evangelists, apostles, and martyrs in every age. I like neither without a qualification, but insist upon it that we should make the curves of our theology match, and so form full circles; and that any failure to do this, either in our philosophy or in our religion, indicates an error. We are fragmentary, so long as we are not able to harmonize the quadrant of our thought or of our emotion with Scriptural truth.

This is the glory of systematic theology which Mr. Beecher hated, that its true business is to harmonize truth with truth, and prevent idiosyncratic tendencies from running away with brilliant men, and so with churches and sects. Undoubtedly the systematic theologian may become far too confident that his definitions include all truth. Undoubtedly there is reason for outcry against scholastic and mediæval theology. But, although I have studied New England theology for now a quarter of a century, I have not yet come upon any thing specially mediæval or injuriously scholastic. For one I thank God that I have been brought into contact with those whose business it is to match quadrants so as to make full circles; and the joy of my life is to try to influence any whom my words may reach, to reverence the scientific leaders of our theological thought, and not to be misled by half truths and fragmentary views of the Divine nature.

MR. BEECHER'S LATER THEOLOGY.

It must be conceded that Mr. Beecher's theology, in his later period, was substantially unbiblical in its tone. He denied the vicariousness of the atonement. He did not believe at all that the blood of Christ saves men, except as an exhibition of Christ's self-sacrificing spirit may melt us. To the end of his life he was true to the misconception which you see lying as a blotch of shadow in the burst of light which fell upon him in his early religious experience. The full scheme of Biblical truth is vaster than his theology. He did not see that vicariousness is necessary in the atonement, if we are to harmonize our thought of it with the Biblical teaching concerning God's justice.

It is not new to theology that God redeems men because he loves them even in their sins. There is nothing that Mr. Beecher preached as novel, anywhere in his whole course of public inculcations, that really is novel in theology, except phrenology and evolution. Mr. Beecher's views concerning the human side of Christ's nature are by no means novel; although they must be called both unscriptural and self-contradictory, as they were ages ago when discussed and dropped from the list of scholarly propositions in religious science. He held that Christ had no human soul, but only a human body.

"The Bible," says Mr. Beecher, "teaches just this, that the Divine mind was pleased to take upon itself a human body. We have no warrant in Scripture for attributing to Christ any other part of human nature than simply a body. . . . In every sense that man can understand, I believe in the Divinity of Christ."

That is one of the old heresies familiar to those who read Church history. (See Schaff-Herzog's Religious Encyclopædia on *Apollonarianism*.) But that view was the basis of Mr. Beecher's "Life of Christ," and of several of his discourses on the Trinity. That particular error was not a very mischievous one, and might easily have been condoned; but he held a very loose view of inspiration.

Over and over he taught that, while revelation is episodical, inspiration is not; and that modern ages have touches of God that amount to inspiration. He did not make the proper distinction, as I think, between inspiration and illumination. Who has any authority to say that he is as thoroughly commissioned of God to teach religious truth as was an apostle who had seen the Lord, or as one who could give supernatural signs of the Divine attestation of his mission? Mr. Beecher would not assert that any modern person has a right to say this, but he would imply it. Keshub Chunder Sen went so far with this doctrine as to claim personal inspiration for himself. Mr. Beecher, of course, never made this claim; but his theory of the Christian consciousness as-

sumes that it is as important for us to follow the consensus of good men in this age as it is to follow any thing in the Scriptures, — the teachings of Christ alone, perhaps, excepted. This is a pretty full denial of plenary inspiration in any fair meaning of that phrase. He of course made a distinction between dictation and inspiration, and so do we all. I am not holding up Mr. Beecher as an errorist on the topic of inspiration because he took a broad view of this theme, and wanted the Bible discussed as other literature is. He did think the Bible infallible as a teacher of religious truth; but he believed that the consent of good men age after age is about equally infallible, and would lift the Christian consciousness not only into co-ordinate authority with inspiration, but sometimes into superior authority, — for instance, as to probation and future punishment. He might, indeed, find himself in conflict with this or that text of Scripture; and I suppose he would say, as I heard Newman Smyth say the other day in his own church, "If we are pestered with texts on this subject, we reply with Luther, that we appeal from the Scriptures to Christ, who is the Lord of the Scriptures."

This is setting our idea of what Christ would say in our time above the record of what Christ did say in his own time. If Christ's words are authority, and we confess this, we are not at liberty to play fast and loose with that authority. Any doctrine of Christian consciousness which is not parallel with Christ's consciousness is surely a gate to infinite mischief.

In his later years, Mr. Beecher carried forward his speculations with regard to future punishment until he really ceased to be evangelical. He came to be, what his best biographer on a page now before me calls a defender of a combination of restorationism and annihilationism; that is, he believed that all men who have not what he regards as an adequate chance here will have another chance hereafter, and that such as do not repent will be annihilated. He admitted distinctly that he could not prove this to be the case from the Scriptures; but his doctrine of inspiration was so

loose, that in reply to such an objection as this he would say, "So much the worse for the Scriptures."

If these positions were taken inside a Liberal church, one would not be surprised. The positions would not be specially dangerous to orthodoxy, if taken outside its walls. But when taken inside the gates, and when these guns, filled with the terrific ammunition which he used to put into them, were trained on us from positions within the city, of course much temporary havoc was the result.

MR. BEECHER AND THE NEW DEPARTURE.

Professor Dorner is often mentioned as in some sense the leader of what is called the New Departure in theology. I must say that I think Mr. Beecher misled ten men where Professor Dorner has misled one. He did this with the greater ease because he was yet within the pale of orthodoxy, and many of you would still consider him there. I have no ecclesiastical position or influence, and aspire to none, and never shall seek any. But I like to hear things called by their right names. If Mr. Beecher had gone on ten years more broadening his departure from orthodoxy towards restorationism as rapidly as he has done for the last ten years, I think he would have been called a restorationist. One does not see why he should not have said with Dr. Miner, "God can convert all souls; he can and will." He did not limit probation to this life. God must bring to bear in the next life all possible motives to redeem lost spirits; and, as no doubt he can redeem all, he will. Mr. Beecher's philosophy tended directly towards Universalism; and I suppose we are all very well agreed that Universalism and Orthodoxy so far differ that they ought to have two working organizations. (Laughter and applause). You may be very broad and tolerant in your sweetness and light; but you cannot be absolutely self-contradictory without practical mischief in ecclesiastical affairs, to say nothing of religious truth in its application to spiritual life.

The horror I have of these doctrines arises from the fact

that they encourage delay of repentance. I believe as thoroughly as that I exist, that all character tends to final permanence; and that from the light of mere reason we know that there can be but one probation, although from mere reason we could not know in all cases where that ends. But I believe on Scriptural authority that we are all to be judged for the deeds done in the body. And when it is lightly promised that such as have not an adequate opportunity here to follow conscience, and the Christ who speaks through it, shall have a better opportunity hereafter, men are thus encouraged to delay repentance; and I for one am chilled with horror at the possible effects of such teaching. I have no motive whatever in this discussion except a desire to awaken men to do their duty; and yet, so help me Heaven, I had rather leave the Church entirely, I had rather cast off orthodoxy as a piece of hypocrisy, than stay inside a nominally orthodox, and a really Universalist, Church. (Applause.) When I become a Universalist, I mean to have the courage of my opinions.

If it be said that I am now endeavoring to make Mr. Beecher responsible for more than he really taught, I reply, that every one of these propositions can be justified by citations, which lie before me, from his own statements, and in the best biography of him that has yet been published. (See Dr. Lyman Abbott's work entitled "Henry Ward Beecher," chap. v.)

MR. BEECHER AS A REFORMER.

Let me turn from this topic of Mr. Beecher's distorted and unbalanced view of evangelical truth. Let me turn with especial gladness from the really unevangelical portions of his teaching to his work as a reformer. Why did he love the slave? Because he believed Christ died for him. Why did Mr. Beecher's heart embrace humanity? Because he believed humanity had been redeemed by the blood of Christ. In his earlier days, Mr. Beecher used to say, "One drop of Christ's blood is worth more than the whole globe,

even if the latter were an orbicular diamond." In his later period he has said, "Let me hear nothing of the blood of Christ." Of course there is a way of presenting this topic which may justly be criticised; but Mr. Beecher really dropped, as I have shown, all belief in the vicarious nature of the atonement. When he began his career, his best impulses as a reformer came from the early sunburst in his religious life. He believed that every man has been redeemed, or has an opportunity of redemption open to him; and he labored for all souls as a co-worker with Christ. It was as a co-worker with Christ that he became a temperance reformer, and that he warned young men in those matchless early lectures of his concerning intemperance and the scarlet woman and gambling. Mr. Beecher was a friend of my youth, I may say; for his book of lectures to young men was to me once like a series of drum-beats. I may not have kept step with it, but the martial tone of it was an inspiration.

HIS DISCOURSES ON FREEDOM AND WAR.

When Mr. Beecher published, what I think more likely to become a classic than any thing else he ever produced, his famous discourses on "Freedom and War," he was speaking out of the heart of his evangelical philanthropy. His was not a sickly philanthropy, based on merely political considerations. It was a religious philanthropy. His tireless lectures on reform were secular sermons. This was the glory of his anti-slavery career, that it sprang from religious motives. This was what made him so excoriate all crimes against the dignity of the human spirit, whether on the part of the capitalist, or of the slave-driver, or of the politicians in a corrupt party. All was to be brought into harmony with Christ's kingdom; and his watchword was really that of our best reformers to-day, that Christ is king, and that on his shoulder is laid the government of the world.

Now, I revere all that; and it is because I do, that I do

not specially revere some of his later positions in theology, for they, or other causes, seem to have quenched a large portion of his fire as a reformer. It was advancing age that quelled his spirit to some extent, but he was a man of immense physical vigor to the end of life. I heard him in Chicago for the last time, and the great assembly was hushed, although his voice was hoarse from labors extending over many days; but when, after nearly two hours' outpouring of the torrent of thought and emotion, he turned away, he seemed yet fresh. He spoke the next day two hours in a church, when he might have been resting on the Sabbath. He was not wearied by the advance of age; I think many fires in him dropped to ashes because of changes in his faith. There are some of you who fear that he was not innocent, and that his palpably lessened enthusiasm in great reforms came from a conscience ill at ease. I am simply one of the perplexed. I allow that theory to be mentioned here. I do not indorse it; but I concede that there was enough in his change of views concerning religious truth to account for the diminished glory of the flame of his philanthropic endeavor.

HIS GREAT SPEECHES IN ENGLAND IN 1863.

What was he when he went to England, and really turned the tide of public sentiment in favor of the cause of the Union, and defeated Louis Napoleon's machinations which might easily have ended in a recognition of the Southern Confederacy, and in the establishment of a Latin government in the central portions of this continent? He was in the prime of his power. He was about fifty years of age. He had not yet uttered, even if he held, erratic views in theology. He was, of course, more or less erratic in manner; but that kind of error we all pardon easily. He went from the editorship of the Independent; he went from publishing his discourses on "Freedom and War;" he went worn out to England, and after a little rest on the Continent began to face the mobs raised by whom? By the

slave-holders quite as much as by Britons, and yet very largely by Britons who were sympathizers with slave-holders.

You remember that in Liverpool an immense assembly stormed at him for thirty-five minutes before he could be heard. He had been introduced by the chairman, and for more than half an hour the hoots and yells continued, while men flourished bludgeons and brick-bats and bowie-knives and revolvers. Some of his friends went into the galleries, and sat down among the roughs, and said, showing their own revolvers, "Whoever fires first will regret his act." Mr. Beecher stood on the high platform, bending down, and at the end of about half an hour succeeded in attracting the attention of a man in front of him, and began conversation with him. Five or six men around that man on the floor asked their neighbors to hush, that they might hear what was being said between the two. And Mr. Beecher, putting another and another question, gradually rose erect, and half the audience were listening. By and by that half of the assembly quelled the other half, and he had a hearing. A gentleman who describes that scene says he never saw such a glorious illustration of stooping to conquer. (Applause.) Tayler Inness, one of Sir William Hamilton's favorite pupils, and now one of the most eminent leaders of the Scottish bar, said to me in Edinburgh: "Mr. Beecher's speech which I heard in Glasgow changed my whole attitude of mind concerning the American civil war."

The instantaneous replies which Mr. Beecher made to annoying questions were really marvellous, showing a knowledge of the facts of political economy and of British history that very few American speakers possess. Through mob after mob he carried our cause triumphantly, and brought it to Exeter Hall to a crowning occasion, in which he began his speech in these words: "I expect to be hoarse, and I am willing to be hoarse, if any effort of mine can make mother and daughter clasp hands." (Applause.) I suppose he drove Louis Napoleon out of Mexico by that series of lectures. It is certain that he did as much as any

other one American to prevent a recognition of the Southern Confederacy by the British Government. (Applause.)

"I had the consciousness," he himself says, reviewing his tour in England in 1863, "that I had not reserved one single faculty nor one single particle of strength there. I had worked for my country, God himself being witness, with the concentrated essence of my very being. I expected to die. I did not believe I should get through it. I thought at times I should certainly break a blood-vessel or have apoplexy. I did not care. I was as willing to die as ever I was, when hungry or thirsty, to take refreshment, if I might die for my country. Nobody knows what his country is until he is an exile from it, and sees it in peril and obloquy."

Let us honor Mr. Beecher for his immense services to the Union in his anti-slavery lectures and speeches at home and abroad. He was the trumpet to which our soldiers marched to the front; and men in my generation, now in their graves, kept step with his voice. But I should say the culmination of his career was in England, or, possibly, when he lifted our flag over the ruins of Sumter. From that June day when his life arose behind the hills of Litchfield, to that March day when he was laid at rest among the hills of Greenwood, his life had sixty unclouded years in it, fourteen clouded ones.

"AMEN" DID NOT STICK IN HIS THROAT.

Was he a martyr? You who believe in Mr. Beecher say that if he had been guilty he long ago would have committed suicide. I think that is a very strong position. If he was guilty, he piled Pelion upon Ossa, perjury upon criminality, and an hypocrisy of fourteen years in the holiest places. You say he would have broken under such weight. I think your position is a strong one.

You say that Macbeth was true to human nature when he uttered the famous words, —

"I could not say 'Amen,'
When they did say 'God bless us.' . . .
'Amen' stuck in my throat."

Now, for the last fourteen years, Amen has *not* stuck in Mr. Beecher's throat. (Prolonged applause.) But it has been somewhat muffled. (Laughter and applause.)

His chief accusers were wretches, or weather-vanes, beneath contempt. They have dropped from public sight. He went through a series of trials, and came out, on the whole, victoriously. He was tried by his church, and acquitted. He was tried by a court, and acquitted by a divided jury; and of the three of the twelve jurymen who voted against him two had voted on both sides. He was tried, or was threatened with a trial, in another court; but the prosecutor withdrew from the trial when Mr. Beecher faced him. His cause was examined by a renowned council, which unanimously expressed entire confidence in him. You have a right to call attention to these facts over this open grave, and I should blame you who believe thoroughly in him if you were not to emphasize all these points in these sad hours. You say that the supreme proof that this man was on the whole loyal to God is, that God gave him spiritual fruit even in these last years. With all that he bore and all that lay upon him even if he was innocent, he yet had such grace given him as to be, on the whole, spiritually fruitful in a large degree; and if not in as large a degree as before, yet still in a degree very large as compared with the fruitfulness of ordinary men. A president of a renowned New England college says it is a psychological impossibility that Mr. Beecher should have been any thing but innocent. (Applause.)

If he had been an ordinary man, I should say this proof is decisive. Let me not adopt the cheap phrase, "There are three kinds of men, saints and sinners and the Beecher family." (Laughter.) Mr. Beecher's nature is no puzzle. Remember that he may have had a somewhat flexible conscience; that he was irreverent to a certain degree; that he was not very logical; and that the fibre of his taste was not as fine as it might have been, although very fine, for he was a prose poet. Then put with that structure of soul colossal passions; a

dominating will, — none too dominating, if only conscience had been its king in every case; benevolent emotions that made him the friend of humanity; patriotism that caused him to clasp the whole globe to his bosom with really passionate spiritual affection: subject him to temptations, give him bad companionship, and you can imagine he might have done several careless things. Those who say that he could not have borne his remorse for the last twelve years if he was guilty take a very strong attitude; but I once heard a student of Professor Agassiz make this remark, "If Professor Agassiz makes up his mind to it, he can see anatomical analogies between an iron pot-hook and a goose's neck." (Laughter.) If Mr. Beecher made up his mind to it, what was there he could not do in the way of self-control? This man was so powerful he might have acted a part. I do not say he did. It seems to be almost incredible that he did. I have never been convinced of his guilt. (Applause.) But I must say that there does not yet appear to me to be before the public such evidence as is likely to constrain unanimity of opinion on the one side or the other.

RESULTS OF POSSIBLE POSTHUMOUS EVIDENCE.

What I hope for is, that in the avalanche of biographies likely to come in the next few years, and in the unveiling of posthumous evidence, we shall find something that will constrain entire unanimity of opinion, and on the side which will enable us to offer thanksgiving to God that he held this glorious orb to its course through all the shadowed portions of its circuit. If that shall be the case, if we are enabled to prove at last that he was a great martyr, there are some of us, whose affection for him is not uprooted, but only thrown prone on the ground, who are likely to lift ourselves up again and plant new roots in the disturbed soil, and make that affection grow with a rapidity which it never reached in his lifetime. There are some of us, who, if constraining evidence comes before the public that he was the victim of

misconception and malice, will make pilgrimages to his grave and drop hot tears upon his tomb.

But if there ever should be brought before the public constraining evidence of another kind, what must we say? I am not here to make prophecies; I am not here to hint at unexplored remainders of evidence. All who hold that evidence, and have not yet brought it forward, ought hereafter to keep their peace; for they have been invited for fourteen years to bring it forward. (Applause.) Nevertheless, I hope all evidence will be brought forward, and my exhortation to every friend of Mr. Beecher is to clear his memory of clouds. You need not fear that you will wound his sensitiveness by endeavoring to do so now. If there shall be evidence that constrains us to believe that he was not a martyr, we shall be obliged to suspect that he was either a moral nondescript, or worse. But, even then, I should say, as Whittier said of Webster, —

“ Revile him not : the Tempter hath
A snare for all ;
And pitying tears, not scorn and wrath,
Befit his fall.

Let not the land once proud of him
Insult him now,
Nor brand with deeper shame
His dim, dishonored brow.

But let its humbled sons instead,
From sea to lake,
A long lament, as for the dead,
In sadness make.

Then pay the reverence of old days
To his dead fame, —
Walk backward, with averted face,
And hide the shame.”

If, as I hope and pray, the evidence to be brought forward posthumously exonerates him completely, then we will ask his spirit before the throne, to offer for us Christ's own prayer, “Forgive them, for they know not what they do.” (Applause.)

QUESTIONS.

What is to be said of Boston Brahminism and theosophy?

Brahminism has so many sides, that you must ask which side of it is intended before you give any opinion on so multiplex an affair. There is now in Boston a descendant of Ramohun Roy, who represents, as I suppose, the better side of Brahminism. He knows something, he is supposed to know much, of theosophy. Pure Brahminism and theosophy, however, do not agree well together. Madame Blavatsky, the priestess of theosophy, has had her life written lately, and elaborate defences have been made of her career; but the advices I read from Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras assume that she has been proved to be a charlatan. The Society for Psychical Investigation in England sent a committee to Madras to examine her record; and that committee has made an elaborate report, over eminent and responsible names, to the effect that she is a pricked bubble. Any thing in occult science worthy attention I hope will receive it. But theosophy ought not to be a craze in Boston; nor ought Brahminism, however refined. Hindooism and Brahminism are not the same things, by any means; and yet the Brahmin caste in India is responsible, to a predominant extent, for the practical religion of that peninsula. Judged by its fruits as Christianity is, Brahminism must be regarded as, on the whole, a withering curse to any population it really rules. Caste, and the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, are the two wheels on which priestly power in pagan centres of India rides over the necks of a population larger than any Cæsar ever governed. It is the business of Boston to shiver those wheels to fragments, rather than try to bring them here and set them up on the axle of the hub of the universe. (Applause.)

Who is the Pundita Ramabai?

The Pundita Ramabai is a very learned Hindoo lady who is studying female education in this country. She speaks English admirably, and two weeks from to-day has promised to appear on this platform. I rejoice in the opportunity you will have to look into the face of a daughter of the Ganges, who can extemporize in Sanskrit. Ask her what she thinks of theosophy, ask her what she thinks of Brahminism; and you will receive such an answer as you might have had from Keshub Chunder Sen. The Pundita Ramabai is a devout Christian, not connected with any one of the missionary societies, and rather, perhaps, of the Quaker type in her faith, but exceedingly anxious to found institutions to carry education to Hindoo widows, and lift them out of their starvation, physical as well as mental, and so raise their level of moral and religious life, and with her country women to raise the level of civilization in all India. Contrast her with any Brahmin who endeavors to show you that pure Brahminism and pure Christianity are much the same. Do not be misled by apostles of outworn misbeliefs. Certain circles of misguided people in the Occident seem bent on imitating decadent paganism in the Roman Empire, and importing the worship of Isis. Whatever jewel there is in a pagan faith, let us take from its place and add to the necklace of Christianity; but let us not forget that a jewel may sometimes not be worth taking, if we take with it the toad in whose head it lies. (Applause.)

LECTURE VI.

MODERN NOVEL OPPORTUNITY IN COMPARATIVE RELIGION.

PROFESSOR HUXLEY has said lately that there is no scientific disproof of the immortality of the soul. However difficult it may be to prove from the point of view of science that immortality lies before us, no man can say that it does not.

“The student of nature who starts from the axiom of the universality of the law of causation cannot refuse to admit an eternal existence.

“If he admits the conservation of energy, he cannot deny the possibility of an eternal energy.

“If he admits the existence of immaterial phenomena in the form of consciousness, he must admit the possibility, at any rate, of an eternal series of such phenomena.

“If his studies have not been barren of the best fruit of the investigation of nature, he will have enough sense to see that when Spinoza says, ‘Per Deum intelligo ens absolute infinitum, hoc est substantiam constantem infinitis attributis,’ the God so conceived is one that only a very great fool would deny, even in his heart. Physical science is as little atheistic as it is materialistic. . . .

“To come, at last, to the really important part of all this discussion, if the belief in a God is essential to morality, physical science offers no obstacle thereto; if the belief in immortality is essential to morality, physical science has no more to say against the probability of that doctrine than the most ordinary experience has, and it effectually closes the mouths of those who pretend to refute it by objections deduced from merely physical data.”
— HUXLEY : *Fortnightly Review*, December, 1886, pp. 799, 800.

Professor Bowne, in a profound work on the outlines of psychology has lately taken the very same position.

“The fact that the soul cannot be identified with the body shows that the destruction of the body contains no assignable ground for the destruction of the soul. The indestructibility of substance, also, upon which physics is based, would suggest that every real thing must be assumed to continue in existence until its annihilation has been proved. If, then, this subject is to be argued upon the basis of our customary ideas, the burden of proof

would lie altogether upon the believer in annihilation; for the soul is real, and must be assumed to exist until its destruction has been shown. Of course, such a showing is impossible; and hence the presumption must remain in favor of continued existence. To this it is urged, in objection, that such a claim would imply the continued existence of brute souls, and that this would be absurd. In fact, the absurdity lies altogether in the unfamiliarity of the notion. That many forms of animal life should exist at all, is as great an absurdity as could well be conceived. That they should continue to exist, would be no greater one. The question, Of what use would they be hereafter? is offset by the equally unanswerable one, Of what use are they here? We need not reflect long to see that our artificial and anthropomorphic notions of the fit and the unfit cannot well be applied to cosmic problems. Metaphysics convinces us that the entire system of finite things has its ground of existence, not in itself, but in one Infinite Being, who is the fundamental reality in all existence. No finite thing, then, has any inalienable right to exist by virtue of its title of substance, or from any other metaphysical ground whatever. Every finite thing, whether material or spiritual, begins to exist because the nature or plan of the Infinite calls for it. If that nature or that plan should no longer demand its existence, then that thing would cease to be. We can only lay down, then, this formal principle: Those things that have perennial significance for the universe will abide; those which have only temporary significance will pass away. But this principle admits of no specific conclusions on our part. We cannot tell what the plan of the Infinite may include and what it may exclude. It already includes so much that we should have rejected, that we can hardly help concluding that the data of the problem lie beyond our grasp. The only thing to which we can attribute an absolute worth is moral goodness, or the moral personality; but this is a consideration drawn from the moral nature, and not from metaphysical speculation. In short, if the moral nature demands continued existence, or if any word of revelation affirms it, there is no fact or argument against it." — BOWNE: *Psychology*, pp. 315-317.

It is becoming a little antiquated to doubt, in the name of philosophy, the immortality of the soul. The more advanced opinion, ten years ago maintained here, is that modern science cannot possibly show that death ends all, and makes immortality appear a probability.

In this state of affairs, what are we to say concerning the possible opportunities of comparative theology and of comparative religion? By comparative religion is meant the contrast of Christianity with all the ethnic pagan faiths. I maintain these seven propositions, —

1. All ethnic religions have been explored in outline, and many of them in great detail.

That is a new posture of affairs. Until within twenty-five years, as much as this could not be affirmed. Until within the last half century, it was hardly possible to procure in the Occident any adequate information concerning Brahminism, Buddhism, or the religions of Confucius, Zoroaster, and Mohammed. By far the larger part of the Vedas had not been translated into any European language. (CLARKE: *Ten Great Religions*, vol. i. p. 4.)

2. No other religion known to man can now be called a rival of Christianity.

That proposition could not be uttered twenty-five years ago with as much emphasis as now, and fifty years ago it would hardly have been volunteered, so little did we know of the interior economy of the great pagan faiths.

3. Not one of the great ethnic faiths has a hope of conquering the world.

This also is a new outlook in history. It is, I suppose, within the last quarter of a century that Mohammedanism has given up hope of conquering Africa, and within the same time Buddhism, Brahminism, Confucianism, have given up hope of conquering Asia.

Keshub Chunder Sen's career is the best lesson modern history contains in comparative theology. He was intimately acquainted with Brahminism, Hindooism, Buddhism, and the other ethnic faiths of Asia. Although not nominally a Christian, he turned away from them all to find in Christianity the supreme satisfaction of the wants of the human soul.

4. We are to use the principles of a Christian philosophy to judge what is worth saving, and what must be cast away in the chaos of decay brought to us by the advancing science of comparative religion.

Max Müller himself has published the opinion that it is sheer futility to assume that the Bible is ever to be dazzled by any other sacred book. (Introduction to *Translations of the Sacred Books of the East*.)

You say we do not know what will be discovered in the convents of Thibet. It is true we do not know in detail,

but we do know in principle. Until within twenty-five years there has been some expectation, on the part of rationalism, that ethnic religions might recover credit for their sacred books, and that we might be enabled at least to put on a shelf very near to the Bible the Vedas or the Bagvat Geeta. But the more that the study has progressed, the more the brilliancy of the Word of God has come forth without haze, until the foremost scholars in comparative religion admit that nothing is to be put on the shelf next to the Scriptures. There is nothing to be put on any shelf, except one far from that on which the Bible lies. The uneasiness of young men hoping for some sacred books that might be rivals to the Scriptures ought to pass away; for the last secret places in which such books might be found are being rummaged, and such books are not forthcoming.

5. The human mind is so constituted that it is not possible for it to doubt self-evident truth; and so the religion of self-surrender to such truth, and to the God whose mode of action it reveals, is demonstrably intended to be a religion for all mankind and for all time.

6. History has now given such victory to the religion which consists in the Imitation of the mind that was in Christ, that we must infer, not only from its harmony with self-evident truth, but also from its prolonged and varied successes, that Christianity is providentially intended to be a religion for all mankind and for all time.

7. The false philosophies of the Occident must be judged, as the false religions of the Orient, by the true philosophy, the Christian scheme of thought.

While we must, indeed, give attention to whatever is lovely and of good report, while we must accept and absorb into Christianity whatever is of value in any pagan faith or in rationalistic philosophy, while we must study occult forces themselves to ascertain how mysteriously man is made, there are great leading and now settled principles by which we must sift all the materials of comparative theology and philosophy. And those principles are the ones on which

emphasis has so often been laid here, — the necessity of the new birth; the necessity of the atonement; the certainty of our exposure to God; and the incontestible fact that such exposure if we are loyal means heaven, and if we are disloyal means perdition.

After a lifetime devoted to the study of the so-called Sacred Books of the East, Prof. Monier-Williams, of Oxford University, bears this extraordinary testimony, (Speech in London, before the English Church Missionary Society, 1887:)

When I began investigating Hinduism and Buddhism, I found many beautiful gems; nay, I met with bright coruscations of true light flashing here and there amid the surrounding darkness. As I prosecuted my researches into these non-Christian systems, I began to foster a fancy that they had been unjustly treated. I began to observe and trace out curious coincidences and comparisons with our own Sacred Book of the East. I began, in short, to be a believer in what is called the evolution and growth of religious thought. "These imperfect systems," I said to myself, "are clearly steps in the development of man's religious instincts and aspirations. They are interesting efforts of the human mind struggling upwards towards Christianity. Nay, it is probable that they were all intended to lead up to the one true religion, and that Christianity is, after all, merely the climax, the complement, the fulfilment of them all."

Now there is unquestionably a delightful fascination about such a theory, and, what is more, there are really elements of truth in it. But I am glad of this opportunity of stating publicly that *I am persuaded I was misled by its attractiveness, and that its main idea is quite erroneous. The charm and danger of it, I think, lie in its apparent liberality, breadth of view, and toleration.* In the "Times" of last October 14, you will find recorded a remarkable conversation between a Lama priest and a Christian traveler, in the course of which the Lama says that "Christians describe their religion as the best of all religions; whereas, among the nine rules of conduct for the Buddhist, there is one that directs him never either to think or to say that his own religion is the best, considering that sincere men of other religions are deeply attached to them." Now to express sympathy with this kind of liberality is sure to win applause among a certain class of thinkers in these days of universal toleration and religious free trade. We must not forget, too, that our Bible tells us that God has not left himself without witness, and that in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with him. Yet I contend, notwithstanding, that *a limp, flabby, jelly-fish kind of tolerance is utterly incompatible with the nerve, fibre, and backbone that ought to characterize a manly Christian.* I maintain that a Chris-

tian's character ought to be exactly what the Christian's Bible intends it to be. Take that Sacred Book of ours ; handle reverently the whole volume ; search it through and through, from the first chapter to the last, and mark well the spirit that pervades the whole. You will find no limpness, no flabbiness about its utterances. Even skeptics who dispute its divinity are ready to admit that it is a thoroughly manly book. Vigor and manhood breathe in every page. It is downright and straightforward, bold and fearless, rigid and uncompromising. It tells you and me to be either hot or cold. If God be God, serve him. If Baal be God, serve him. We cannot serve both. We cannot love both. Only one Name is given among men whereby we may be saved. No other name, no other Saviour, more suited to India, to Persia, to China, to Arabia, is ever mentioned — is ever hinted at.

What! says the enthusiastic student of the science of religion, do you seriously mean to sweep away as so much worthless waste paper all these thirty stately volumes of Sacred Books of the East just published by the University of Oxford?

No — not at all — nothing of the kind. On the contrary, we welcome these books. We ask every missionary to study their contents and thankfully lay hold of whatsoever things are true and of good report in them. But we warn him that *there can be no greater mistake than to force these non-Christian bibles into conformity with some scientific theory of development, and then point to the Christian's Holy Bible as the crowning product of religious evolution. So far from this, these non-Christian bibles are all developments in the wrong direction. They all begin with some flashes of true light and end in utter darkness. Pile them, if you will, on the left side of your study table, but place your own Holy Bible on the right side — all by itself — all alone — and with a wide gap between.*

There is an Absolute Gospel, which consists in the duty and joy of Co-operation with God by self-surrender to the self-evident truths of Conscience. There is an Historical Gospel, which consists in the Imitation of Christ. These two are one. Whatever in any ethnic religion agrees with these gospels we may accept. Whatever is opposed to self-evident truth, or to the Mind that was in Christ, I venture to predict that science as well as theology and religion will ultimately reject. We must sift all thought, Oriental and Occidental, by the use of this sieve of self-evident truth, combined with the Imitation of Christ. We must accept nothing which does not come to us on the authority of self-evident truth and also from Christ's pierced right hand.

VII.

MODERN NOVEL OPPORTUNITY FOR
CHRISTIAN UNION.

WITH A PRELUDE ON

MEN, MONEY AND MOTIVE IN MISSIONS.

THE 193^D LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP,
DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE, MARCH 21, 1887.

BOSTON HYMN.

GOD'S TIME NOW.

SUNG AT TREMONT TEMPLE, MARCH 21, AT THE ONE HUNDRED AND
NINETY-THIRD BOSTON MONDAY LECTURE.

1. CHOOSE I must, and soon must choose
Holiness, or heaven lose.
While what heaven loves I hate,
Shut for me is heaven's gate.
2. Endless sin means endless woe.
Into endless sin I go,
If my soul, from reason rent,
Takes from sin its final bent.
3. Balance lost, but not regained,
Final bent is soon attained.
Fate is choice in fullest flower.
Man is flexible — for an hour !
4. As the stream its channel grooves,
And within that channel moves,
So doth habit's deepest tide
Groove its bed, and there abide.
5. Light obeyed increaseth Light,
Light resisted bringeth night.
Who shall give me will to choose,
If the love of Light I lose ?
6. Speed, my soul ; this instant yield ;
Let the Light its sceptre wield.
While thy God prolongeth grace,
Haste thee toward His holy face !

JOSEPH COOK.

INVOCATION.

OUR Father in heaven, wilt Thou send laborers into the white harvest of the world. Is it not plenteous, and are not the laborers as yet few? Make commerce and politics and science and literature, as well as the churches, Thy missionaries. Bring all men to Thyself in that temper which leads to submission and worship. Sustain Thy servants who in weariness and painfulness, in perils by land and in perils by sea, in perils from the heathen and in perils from false brethren, are carrying an undefiled gospel to all nations. Wilt Thou restrain every hand that would poison the springs of religious thought. Wilt Thou cause pure waters from the fount of life to fill the whole earth as the waters fill the great deep. And this we ask for Christ's sake. Amen.

PRELUDE VII.

MEN, MONEY AND MOTIVE IN MISSIONS.

A VERY large audience was present at the one hundred and ninety-third Boston Monday lecture. The Rev. James M. Gray presided. The hymn "God's Time Now" was sung by the audience, under Mr. Ryder's leadership at the organ. The Rev. A. B. Earle, the evangelist, offered prayer. A letter signed by the Rev. Drs. Gordon, Plumb, and Bates, and correcting certain injurious misstatements of the Boston Daily Advertiser concerning the prelude of March 14, was read, and received with prolonged applause by the audience.

MENTAL HOSPITALITY TO SEVERE TRUTH.

THERE is one thing more important to missions than men or money, and that is motive.

Character crystallizes speedily. It is indisputable that

with or without a knowledge of the historic Christ, character determines destiny. The soul becomes fixed, and may yet be free, in its moral attitudes, forever. When character is fixed, probation ends. The moral tendencies of every soul consummate themselves in final permanence of character, good or bad. These severe truths of ethical science, strictly so called, it does not become any one who reveres evidence or loves humanity to mask or minimize.

A false liberalism, the newspapers to the contrary notwithstanding, is the fool's paradise, for its constant effort is to mask and minimize severe truth.

The fool hath said in his heart, and often in the newspapers, that there is no perdition, and that it may at least sometimes be safe for a man to die in his sins. When men become serious, the futility of this weak evasiveness is so evident as to seem absurd. Miss Hapgood tells us, in her brilliant translations of the Russian epic songs, that a dragon with paper pinions once shadowed a portion of the northern empire, and that prayers for rain brought the monster down by wetting its wings. When God sends copious spiritual rains from heaven, the flying paper dragons of a false liberalism drop to the earth. Let us not allow our heads to be simply newspaper scrap-bags. We read the yet unfathomed Bible less than our fathers did. We are less sensitive to the severe truths of nature, to say nothing of those of revelation, than they were. We are so partly because of the growth of luxury and individualism, but partly also because our religious leadership in this hurried age comes too largely from secular sources. It is hardly too much to say that the pulpit is not the chief, certainly it is no longer the only, instructor of men in religion. The printed page takes its place more than in any previous age of the world. And while the Church has done marvels in filling the world with good literature, the opponents of the Church have done marvels also in filling it with literature more or less poisoned; and the sickness of the Church arises not merely from its feeding on guesses, but from its feeding upon adulterated food.

The fundamental fallacy of a false liberalism is that we must adjust the administration of the universe to human wishes. The narrowness of breadth consists in its lack of mental hospitality to severe truth.

PHILOSOPHICAL AND BIBLICAL MOTIVES FOR MISSIONS.

All who use both their eyes and exercise common-sense will make the severe truths of theistic realism as well as of the Scriptures the foundation of supreme motives to missions. Above the Hoang-Ho and the Hudson, above the Congo and the Ganges, the angels of the Divine natural laws, no less than those of revelation, proclaim that the moral tendencies, good or bad, of every soul, hasten to final consummation. "The time is at hand. He that is unjust, let him be unjust still. He that is filthy, let him be filthy still. He that is righteous, let him be righteous still. He that is holy, let him be holy still. And behold I come quickly."

We must interpret what God means in his Word by what he does in his Providence. You are told that without a knowledge of the historic Christ no soul ever obtains final permanence of character. But all around the world experience contradicts that proposition. Character does hasten into its final form, with or without a knowledge of the historic Christ; and any interpretation of the Scriptures that does not harmonize with that fact in God's works is evidently erroneous. God gives light enough to every man to make him responsible for the performance of duty. He gives light enough to enable him to yield to the dictates of conscience. And I hold that whoever thus yields will be blessed of God, and brought into his kingdom. Abraham was justified by faith before the circumcision, and so became the father of those who are faithful and yet not of the circumcision. As Abraham or Melchizedec was justified by faith, so I believe millions are now before the throne who have been justified by faith,—that is, through faithfulness to what light they had,—and by the undergirding arm of Christ. The atonement is necessary to the salvation of any soul; but to affirm

that the knowledge of the historic facts of the atonement is necessary, is to make it impossible to harmonize the teachings of natural law and of revelation as to the conditions of salvation. It is to revolutionize scholarly theology; it is to take so narrow and literal a view of certain texts in God's Word as to necessitate the upheaval of the foundation of evangelical truth itself.

We shall never conquer the world except through the inspiration of the mind that was in Christ. But it was he who said to certain of his hearers, "Ye shall die in your sins. Whither I go ye cannot come." It was he whose description of the last judgment makes it turn, for "all nations," on deeds done in this life. Of all authorities, his emphasizes most the duty of immediate repentance. Whoever teaches that it may sometimes be safe for a man to die in his sins, opposes a Gulf-current in the ocean of revelation, and attempts to turn backward what is most central in the flow of Biblical truth, as well as in the forewarnings of conscience and secular experience. Quibble as you please about this or that text, the great trend of interpretation, age after age, as represented by the foremost scholars and the most accredited creeds, which show how much scholars have weighed with the churches, is that one which we call evangelical, the one which asserts that it is not safe for any man to die in his sins, and maintains the universal necessity of repentance in this life.

FAILURE OF UNIVERSALISM IN MISSIONS.

Does Universalism cut the nerve of missions? I open here an article in the *Forum*, the very last number (March, 1887), entitled "Confessions of a Universalist."

"In the work of Christian culture, we suffer through vagueness of aim and incomplete and ineffective method. We have not yet achieved a system of culture which accords with the genius of our faith. Our broad generalities have not been reduced to practical teaching forms. The attempt to superimpose the Christian culture on an unawakened conscience gives an æsthetic, not an ethical, result."

Who is writing? A Universalist. I admit it is notorious that our friends the Universalists build hospitals and asylums, and do their full share in philanthropic endeavor to improve the condition of men in this world. But what is their record concerning missions?

“I confess we have no foreign missions. We have never sent a man into heathen lands with the avowed purpose of converting lost souls to Christ; and, after an hundred years of history, our first foreign missions committee is not yet six months old.”

This writer adds, naïvely, that it is not for him to explain this significant fact. Does it need any explanation?

Will semi-Universalism, as I have often called the neology so popular in certain quarters in our time, mutilate the nerve of missions? By the argument of approach, we should say that if this is the result of Universalism, the result of something very nearly approaching it will approximate to barrenness. It is a pain to me to say these things. I am not by nature a controversialist; but I am a lover of what appears to me to be Biblical truth, and if it be attacked I am a friend of adequate defence of it. And if it be necessary sometimes to strike damaging but deserved blows at errors which undermine truth vital to the whole earth, such blows must be struck. (Applause.)

CAMEL AND MAN IN ONE TENT.

Is there room for a camel and a man in one tent? The reply to this familiar Oriental question depends on three things, — the size of the camel, the breadth of the tent, and the disposition of the man. (Laughter.) Is there room for the misshapen camel of a devitalized, semi-Universalistic theology to lie down in the tent of evangelical Christendom? The reply depends upon the size of the camel, the breadth of the tent, and the disposition of its occupant.

What, then, is the breadth of the New Departure; who are its allies; what does it ask of missionary boards?

The first statement was, that the New Departure “is a

mere hypothesis, a secondary doctrine, only a dogma." Its advocates were proud, or at least careful, to say that they "seldom mention it." That was the tip of the nose of the camel entering the tent. But what did we see in a few months? Magazines and volumes, representing the neck and the fore-shoulders of the camel; and the demand was, that the American Board, which for seventy-five years had followed a very different policy, should revolutionize its ideal, and send abroad men who teach the hypothesis of future probation. (Andover Review, October, 1885.)

The Prudential Committee of the American Board, never having done any thing of the kind, adhered to its precedents. At Des Moines it was authoritatively commended for doing so, and specially instructed to continue to adhere to them. Instructed by whom? By the American Board: not a Boston board, not a New England board. What is the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions? The body supporting the organization known by that name is national. Its membership stretches from seaboard to seaboard. It is made up of more than two hundred of most honored and trusted men, chiefly from Congregational, but partly from Presbyterian, churches. Besides these corporate members, there are several thousands of associated honorary members, who have a right to participate in the discussions of the annual meetings, and do every thing but vote. The three secretaries of the Prudential Committee do not vote on the questions before that committee. Three denominations were once united in support of this Board, but at present the Congregational body has the chief charge of it; and yet the missionary candidates that the Board approves come from other than the Congregational churches occasionally, and of late quite frequently.

It has been loudly proclaimed to be an insult to Christianity, not to send out men to teach that all who pass out of the world without a knowledge of the historic gospel will have a future probation. It has been declared to be an insult to Christianity, to teach average evangelical opinion on this subject.

Dornerism constitutes the shoulders of the camel. And what is Dornerism? As has often been proved by exact citations on this platform, the shoulders of the camel are supported by two limbs. One of them asserts that all who have not heard of the gospel, and who live in pagan lands, are to have a continued probation. The other says that those who live inside Christendom and have not received an ample knowledge of the gospel, or had it brought home to them as what it really is, must have another chance. Those two feet trample on the chief texts of the Divine Word on this theme.

Worldliness pushes forward every scheme of reckless liberalistic thought. It constitutes the hungry body of this intrusive animal. The rear limbs are the liberalistic, unevangelical Church and the secular press. They urge on every advocate of easy, loose views. I make exceptions, of course. There are some such churches that are not wholly misleading, and there are some secular newspapers that are very noble in their tone in discussing religious affairs; but the most of the secular journalism of the land is on the side of a lawless liberalism in theology.

Are these four limbs, urging on the head and neck of the camel, likely to make trouble in the evangelical tent? We are not accustomed to have Scriptural texts trampled upon by such hoofs as these. Is the question whether they shall all enter, one of little or no importance? Were I an artist, I should complete my cartoon by a description of the somnolent and tolerant company within the tent; but I forbear. The whisking tail of this camel is the frivolity of a light-minded, fashionable class, outside all churches, evangelical and unevangelical, but urging on the whole animal, in the name of freedom of thought. The Sunday journals represent this type of people very well. Meanwhile, the oldest theological seminary in the United States sits on the back of the camel, and, by a somewhat monotonous application of whip and spur and goad, makes *A Plea for Further Progress*. (See the Andover Review, for March, 1887.) The time has

come for the very frankest speech on this matter, and my Oriental picture does not go too far in characterizing the forces which are pushing on in eschatology a liberalism both unscientific and unscriptural. This is the breadth of the New Departure. These are its natural allies.

PERILS OF COUNCILS.

What does the New Departure want? It wants any one sent abroad who can be ordained at home.

Who can be ordained at home? Ask Presbyterians what they think Congregationalists will do in certain careless moods. Presbyterians are not good judges on this matter, I admit: they are rather too severe concerning our method of church government. Ask Methodists? Congregationalism is the millennial polity. It will do when all men are saints; but sometimes it has happened, in the history of Congregationalism, that careless things have been done by councils. I believe in councils; but I am not here to discuss the Congregational polity; that is a topic foreign to my theme. It is notorious that it is more difficult to secure entire purity in the ecclesiastical administration of Congregationalism than under the Presbyterian polity, or the Methodist. Congregationalism is not in bondage to hard and fast rules, but it needs to be very saintly to avoid falling into bondage to fast and loose rules. I think most Congregationalists will admit this. It is far from being true that we have lost doctrinal purity as a body of churches. From sea to sea I hear Congregationalism called a half-way house to heresy, and from sea to sea I deny the charge. The so-called Commission Creed of the Congregationalists is not a creed. It is simply a low-water mark.

The claim now made is that any one who can be ordained by a vicinage council should be sent abroad as a missionary. Now, an agnostic in eschatology can be ordained by a vicinage council. A council is always a very transient, and may be a very irresponsible, body. A man who defends Dornerism out and out can be ordained by a vicinage council. Do

you want all the churches of the Congregational body to be made responsible for a person ordained by some possibly obscure Congregational council, possibly prejudiced, possibly poisoned? (See in the *Congregationalist* for March 3 the very able paper adopted by the Manhattan Association, and prepared by a committee of which the Rev. Dr. R. S. Storrs was chairman, in relation to the American Board and councils. See also the Rev. Dr. John E. Todd's incisive pamphlet on the same question.)

All the churches pay the bills of the missionaries; one church only pays the bills of a minister ordained in a special locality. Is it not high time to raise the question whether unsound teachers should not pay their own bills? The American Board has been intrusted with the management of an annual income of more than half a million dollars. It is criticised for not sending abroad, on the basis of the funds collected from evangelical churches, men whose positions are thoroughly unsatisfactory to those churches. The main contributors feel aggrieved when their funds are used for this purpose. You say the American Board has been keeping laborers back from the field. Let laborers go; who hinders them, if they will pay their own bills? The refusal of the American Board to pay the bills of the men whose views are antagonistic to the faith generally received by the body represented by that board is an instance of high commercial honor. I put the question to merchants here, I put it to all men of affairs who respect sensitiveness of conscience in the management of trust-funds, whether it is not a matter fitted to cause us a good deal of annoyance, when men come forward denying important doctrines of the evangelical faith, and yet ask to be supported by evangelical funds. Freedom of thought and of utterance, it is often claimed, should be the same in Bombay as in Boston. So it should be, indeed; but on the same condition there as here, — that no one shall ask to have his expenses defrayed by those who disagree with him. If a missionary supported by any board is to have freedom of thought and speech in defence of

speculations which that board considers divisive, perverse, and dangerous, there is one other kind of freedom which he ought to have ; and that is the freedom to pay his own bills. I, for one, if I held the doctrines of the New Departure, should blush to go and hold out my hat to the American Board for money. (Applause.)

BREADTH OF THE NEW DEPARTURE.

Statements are now widely circulated, that ministers are called and settled "who believe the doctrine of extended probation for all who have not had ample opportunity to know Christ in this world ; and, further, who define 'ample opportunity' as covering an intelligent comprehension of the meaning of the gospel, — making the number who have not had such opportunity large." But this is only parallel with what Dorner taught ; for he said, that "the absoluteness of Christianity demands that no one shall be judged before Christianity has been made accessible and brought home to him. But within the Church there are multitudes to whom the gospel has never been brought home as that which it really is." The demand now is that we shall send abroad those who will teach that all who die, not having an adequate knowledge of the historic gospel, will have a continued probation. Are you Presbyterians willing to put your missionaries shoulder to shoulder with such men on the other side of the globe ? Are you Methodists willing to place your representatives in such a position ? Are you Baptists ? Are you Episcopalians ?

What causes my interest in this matter ? My desire to maintain evangelical unity. I hold that the world can be conquered only by a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether ; and when I see one denomination breaking evangelical unity, lowering the standards which have been revered in all the other denominations, and blessed of God by great spiritual fruitfulness, I am uneasy, I recoil. I see a gate opening to great mischief. I am not a re-actionary conservative. I am, I hope, as eager for new light as any one can be.

But when I take up here works of John Murray, a Universalist whose career was so remarkable a portion of the history of this city about eighty years ago, I find that this new light is old darkness. (Applause.)

JOHN MURRAY'S UNIVERSALISM.

Here are three dusty volumes of John Murray's works, which I unearthed from the cellar of the Old South Church the other day. (Laughter.) And looking through them I find, what? Precisely the new theology, except that it is carried one step farther, and in that particular is more logical. These books of John Murray, the Universalist, who was the foremost representative of his creed in New England at the time of the founding of Andover Theological Seminary, have been dissected by experts, especially by Dr. Wellman and by Dr. Dexter; and I am indebted to those gentlemen for calling my attention to the remarkable parallelisms between Mr. Murray's teachings and those of the neology now so popular in the advanced thought of our scholarly and progressive orthodoxy!

John Murray teaches the universality of the gospel. He infers that, as there can be salvation only through a knowledge of the historic Christ, all men must have that knowledge; and, if some do not have it here, they must have it hereafter, and that there will therefore indubitably be a future probation for all who have not such knowledge here; and if, even in Christendom, there are those to whom the gospel is not brought home, they will have such knowledge hereafter.

Now, I was born in a Universalist family, and cradled almost within hearing of readings from John Murray's volumes; and it is not wonderful that I should recoil when asked to creep into a shell which I hope I long ago abandoned. (Laughter.)

"To assert that God cannot manifest himself and his redeeming grace to the soul which has departed from this state of things, is indeed most arrogantly to limit the Holy One of Israel." (Murray's Works, Boston, 1812, vol. i. p. 262.)

"Here was a whole world of unbelievers, who not only went out of the world in a state of unbelief, but were imprisoned in the same state for upwards of two thousand years. But, although the preaching of Noah could not convert them while in the body, the preaching of the Spirit of Jesus could when out of the body." (p. 291.)

"Dr. N. I assert, sir, that no one will ever be saved hereafter who does not believe in this world; for 'now is the accepted time, now is the day of salvation.' This is our state of probation.

"MURRAY. Yes, sir; now, and to eternity, will be the day of salvation. But what do you mean by the day of probation?

"Dr. N. Why, sir, if they do not improve the present time, they never will have another offer.

"MURRAY. Another offer of what, sir?

"Dr. N. Of grace.

MURRAY. Does God offer grace to dead men? Is it not said, 'Ye are dead, but your life is hid with Christ, in God'?

"Dr. N. Ay, that is spoken to believers only.

"MURRAY. But our apostle says, 'The love of Christ constraineth us, because we thus judge, if one died for all, then were all dead.'

"Dr. N. Well, sir, notwithstanding this, there are none who will be saved eternally who do not know God in this life, and believe in Jesus Christ.

"MURRAY. Are you sure of this, sir?

"Dr. N. Yes, sir, quite sure.

"MURRAY. By what means are you assured?

"Dr. N. By Scripture I am assured, and by reason I am assured.

"MURRAY. Well, sir, it is with a degree of painful pleasure I presume to assure you that both Scripture and reason are against you. The Scriptures declare that our Saviour, while his body continued in the sepulchre, was in spirit preaching to those imprisoned spirits who were sometime disobedient in the days of Noah.

"Dr. N. Ay, but the Scriptures do not say they believed.

"MURRAY. All who are taught by God's Spirit you will readily grant are believers.

"Dr. N. I do not think the text you have mentioned hath any thing to do with the matter.

"MURRAY. Well, then, sir, quitting revelation, we will turn to reason. There are many infants who pass out of this world without the knowledge of God. Do they never obtain the knowledge of God?" etc. (pp. 396, 397.)

"You would know if I conceive of any probationary state beyond the grave? . . . I think it possible to bring individuals acquainted with the truth while absent from the body, else I could have no reasonable hope that any infant could immediately be rendered happy. God, in his most holy Word, hath given us assurance, that every knee shall bow, and every tongue confess to the glory of the Father; and as the *name* Jesus is literally Saviour, what is it, but that all shall confess him their Saviour to the glory of the Father? But we do not see all men confess Jesus here, for all men have not faith; nor can they, until God shall graciously vouchsafe to bestow this blessing, for faith is the gift of God." (vol ii. p. 347.)

"Neither in life nor in death, in the body nor out of the body, can any of the ransomed of the Lord be saved from misery until they are made acquainted with God as their Saviour." (vol. iii. p. 354.) "Tears, weeping, and wailing will continue as long as unbelief, the procuring cause, shall remain. These evils will be done away together, not in the article of death, but in the day of the Lord, when every eye shall see, and every tongue shall confess to, the glory of the Father." (p. 355.)

"Why the Saviour does not do this now, I know not, any more than I know why he did not assume our nature a thousand years sooner than he did, or why he suffers any to pass out of this state of existence unacquainted with him as their Saviour." (p. 360.)

"A consistent Universalist is made to understand that Jesus was from everlasting ordained to be the Saviour of all those who were exposed to the curse of the divine law; that in the fulness of God's time he was made under the law; and that all that Christ Jesus did, and all he suffered, was considered by the great Lawgiver as done and suffered by every man in his own person; and that every man is as much interested in what our Immanuel did as the second Adam, as they were in what was done by the first Adam." (p. 362.) "The consistent Universalist . . . lives in the hope that all things shall work together for good, how evil so ever they may in this distempered state appear. The hope . . . extends to the final salvation of the great family of man." (p. 363.)

TOLERATIONISTS IN ESCHATOLOGY.

A coalition of tolerationists and agnostics in eschatology, with future probationists, would be a great peril to all evangelical churches. The chief difficulty at the present moment is that many somnolent tolerationists give power to a few mischievous eccentrics. The agnostics in eschatology are very few. Almost nobody says the Bible is silent on this subject. The future probationists are really few. Almost every one who asks that the new theology should be tolerated is careful to say that he does not accept its central tenet.

Professor Fisher, whose name I mention with the utmost respect, for he is the greatest ecclesiastical historian in New England, perhaps in America, rejects on exegetical grounds the theory of future probation; but he has lately published an article which goes far to show that his attitude toward this hypothesis is that of a tolerationist. He personally adopts the standard view of orthodoxy, that many in heathen lands are saved by Christ, although without a knowledge of the historic Christ; and he says that this view appears to him

a sound one, although he calls it an extra-Biblical opinion, depending mainly for its support on views taken of the general spirit and drift of the New Testament. He says that the theory of future probation also is an extra-Biblical opinion, and depends on views taken of the general spirit and drift of the New Testament. The structure of his argument implies that his opinion is that as the former extra-Biblical view is tolerated, so the latter may perhaps be allowed a place in evangelical churches and missions.

PROFESSOR FISHER AND THE INDEPENDENT.

The New York Independent, in its recent lucid interval (laughter), which it would seem, from the latest indications, threatens to become chronic, replies to this communication by Professor Fisher in a very vigorous leading article six columns long. While kindly enough treated in other respects, this platform, three years ago and later, was roundly abused by that powerful journal and other sheets, for defending precisely the ground which the Independent itself now at last champions, to its own high honor and the eminent satisfaction of the great mass of the churches of every name.

Professor Fisher balances one extra-Biblical opinion against another, one drift against another drift, and infers that if one is tolerated the other should be. But the first drift is in harmony with the Gulf-current in revelation, — the necessity of immediate repentance. The second drift is directly opposed to this Gulf-current. The latter, therefore, can by no means be set over against the former as of equivalent force. The second drift cannot be followed without leading to whirlpools of practical mischief. The first can be. The second drift, allowed full course, changes nearly all the fundamental doctrines in the Christian scheme of thought. The first drift harmonizes with every one of these doctrines.

Professor Fisher nowhere directly faces the question of chief importance, whether the Bible does or does not teach the universal necessity of repentance in this life.

The first drift can be followed or not followed without

introducing ecclesiastical confusion into the Church. The second drift is so divergent from the central, Biblical inculcations, that it cannot be followed and not followed by different ships in the fleet of the churches, and these ships keep within working range of each other. It is impossible, therefore, to show that the new opinions have no important bearing on missions.

WHY NOT OFFER PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD?

Professor Fisher very naturally thinks it a most weighty argument against the hypothesis of future probation, that the New Testament, while giving copious instruction as to the duty and methods of prayer, never hints in the most distant manner at the propriety of prayers for the dead. The absence of this hint is inexplicable, if multitudes of souls once on earth are now undergoing a continued probation beyond death.

Why should we not pray for the dead? This is not only a natural but an inevitable question, if there is probation beyond this life. (See the Rev. H. W. Lathe's article, *Congregationalist*, Feb. 24.) When I first saw on the banks of the St. Lawrence, on a monument in a Roman Catholic cemetery, the words, "Pray for my soul," I had, as a Protestant youth, a singular feeling of surprise. But the Catholic purgatory is for the purification of the saved, and not for the recovery of those who die impenitent. The Catholic does not pray for the recovery of those who die in their sins, but for the shortening of the purifying pains of those who die without entire fitness for heaven. The Roman Catholic doctrine of purgatory does not imply that the destiny of any soul is changed after death. Those who hold that such change is possible for all who have not had an ample opportunity to become acquainted with the historic gospel here ought to offer prayer for the recovery of these souls in their continued probation. On the tomb-stone of Nero, if it could be found, the New Departure should inscribe, "Pray for my soul." On the monuments of Caligula and

his compeers in crime, on the tombs of all moral monsters known to the broad spaces of the Appian Way outside of Christendom, should be written, "Pray for our souls." Wherever Christianity has not been heard on the Ganges or the Hoang-Ho or the Amazon or the Congo, there should be erected over all burial-places monuments bearing the words, "Pray for our souls." Bryant calls the whole earth the tomb of man. It is a cemetery for millions to whom an adequate knowledge of the historic gospel has never been brought home. Under every star between the poles of heaven the monuments of the new faith should front the fleeting generations of men with the words, "Pray for our souls."

GROWTH OF LUXURY AND INDIVIDUALISM.

Growth of luxury in the Church has usually been marked by aversion to severe doctrine. Our age is distinguished by the growth of luxury in fashionable circles of great cities; and Christianity itself, with respectable people, may be said to be fashionable, if liberal. Toleration and optimism are the diseases of effortless classes in both Church and State.

Soft doctrine may originate in social life as a means of avoiding friction. Where the worldly and the churchly spirit have representatives in the same circles, the temptations to a false liberalism become dangerously strong for average men and women. In the decadence of State churches, and in the growth of the power of numbers in Church and State, crudity of opinion united to social bondage to fashion becomes a snare for multitudes, and so re-acts upon the pulpit as to bring portions of the ministry into bondage.

THE MARSELLAISE OF A LAWLESS LIBERALISM.

Individualism in religious speculation is one of the chief perils of a democratic age. Eternal truths, it is fondly supposed, can be voted up or down by fashionable majorities. The spirit of an age of self-government often carries individualism to the verge of anarchy, not only in politics, but in

theology and the Holy of Holies of religion. The Christian consciousness, so called, by which is often meant little more than the spirit of an age yet essentially unchristian, is allowed to determine whether Christ himself shall or shall not be the final authority of the Church. Every man, said Mr. Emerson, is to be of his own church. The spirit of the age, and not the Spirit of Christ, is the guide of the anarchist in religious speculation. The watchword of individualism is not HIM, but *Whim*. The marching-song of a lawless liberalism, the Marsellaise of theological revolution and anarchy, is to be found in a familiar hymn, slightly changed to a form which I present without intending any irreverence, but only to impress the seriousness of one of the chief errors of our times by giving you a momentary shock:—

“ Let every nation, every tribe,
On this terrestrial ball,
To *Whim* all majesty ascribe,
And crown *Whim* Lord of all!”

This Marsellaise of false liberalism, individualism, and anarchy in theology, it is safe to say, can never become the battle-hymn of a united, aggressive, and victorious Church, and especially not the Marsellaise of missions. (Applause.)

QUESTIONS.

What are the signs of the times in New Japan?

This vivid and bold outline of the most recent progress of Japan comes to me from the banks of the Sumida in Tokio, from that distinguished lecturer who spoke to you on this platform a year ago on the same subject, and who is known to you as the Oriental correspondent of the Boston Monday Lectureship, the Rev. C. S. Eby; now once more, with restored health, at the front in one of the great crises of Christian civilization, which his own efforts have done so much to make victorious in the Far East.

Japan is passing through a national crisis such as the world has never seen, watched of angels and men; and we are nearing the climax of that crisis. The events of the remaining years of this decade will determine the fate of Japan for ages to come.

After an absence of nearly two years, I find no retrogression in the march of modern reform, but developments which astonish me, though along the line of my expectations. The year 1885 opened amidst clouds of deep gloom. The wretched imbroglio between France and China had delayed the work of treaty revision, and thrown diplomacy between East and West into confusion. The unfounded jealousy of conservative China, towards her lesser but more progressive neighbor, culminated in a conflict between Chinese and Japanese troops in the capital of Korea. The position of Korea as an independent state *vis-à-vis* Western states, and paying a ceremonial homage demanded by China, but unrecognized and not understood by Western lands, complicated diplomatic efforts for the adjustment of those difficulties.

There were two demands to be met. Korea, in whose land Japan had been insulted, must make reparation; and China, whose troops had attacked those of Japan, must punish the perpetrators of the deed, and, if possible, make the recurrence of like insults impossible in the future. Hot-headed elements clamored for war. These Eastern lands, which ought to be a unit in face of Western cupidity, seemed likely to be torn by mutual strife. But Count Inouye, minister of state for foreign affairs, presented Japan's demands to the king of Korea in person, with dignity and astuteness excluded the interference of China's intrusive embassy, and concluded an agreement with Korea as an independent nation, remarkable alike for statesmanship and for human kindness. On the other hand, Count Ito undertook

the still more difficult task of treating with Li Hung Chang, that master of Chinese diplomacy and on Chinese soil. The result was beyond all expectation a happy one, bringing about a more cordial understanding between the two Oriental states, and fixing a mutual line of action as regards Korea.

The year opened with great depression in trade, the result largely of currency contraction. The paper currency in Japan had been a fiat currency, and had suffered great inflation at times. Efforts to restore the equilibrium resulted not only in bringing paper money to par, but it was made a convertible legal tender. At the beginning of the year there were one hundred and eighty million paper dollars afloat, worth only one hundred and ten million silver. At the end of the year seventy millions had been withdrawn, and the remaining one hundred and ten millions were worth one hundred and ten millions in silver. This contraction had its effect for the time on trade, and bore heavily on the farmer, whose products brought him thirty and forty per cent less than formerly.

The year opened also with a struggle against cholera at a most unusual season; this was followed by drought which almost promised a famine, and then came storms and floods which threatened to destroy all hope of a harvest from another quarter. But Providence put all these fears to shame, and eventually furnished an abundant crop to still the murmurings of the masses. The year 1886 brought improvement in trade; and an immense impulse has been given to railroad construction, which must eventually largely increase internal developments.

The last days of 1885 will ever be a memorable epoch in the history of Japan, from the fact that there was published an imperial rescript, changing *in toto* the principles on which the imperial government had for many years rested. Seventeen years had passed since the restoration. The time for the granting of the new constitution, and the opening of an imperial parliament, was drawing on apace. Many preliminary steps had been taken, and the way paved for larger reforms. But the constitution of the government was copied after a Chinese model, the departments having too loose a connection with each other, and developing irregularities in administration utterly at variance with Western ideas of government. The Japan Mail finely summarizes this revolution of policy, as follows: "The elements of the regency were swept away, and with them fell the council of state as well as much other superfluous officialdom. The functions of government were intrusted to a cabinet of ten ministers of state, who were also heads of departments. It was decreed, that, as the Emperor himself would direct the affairs of state in this cabinet, it would be the focus of supreme power, as well as the prescriber of all administrative measures. At its head was placed a minister president; and he, as well as every one of its members, was declared personally responsible to the sovereign. By this great reform, the Japanese polity became an exact counterpart of the governmental mechanism of Western Europe. Count Ito was appointed minister-president, and Count Inouye took the next place in the cabinet. The former chancellor of the empire, and other high officials whose administration had fallen behind the times, were courteously relieved, as a court council, from the discharge of any duties more onerous than those connected with official etiquette and ceremonials."

The change was brought about at once, and has been in operation during the past year. One of the most striking results was the reduction of the official staff of various departments, by nearly one-third. Those dismissed were secured against immediate and absolute want by small grants or pensions for a short time. It was almost to be feared that so sweeping a reduction would give rise to elements of intrigue and trouble. But the people, as a whole, welcomed the change, and the most intelligent applauded it as a mark of wisdom and strength in the government, and no trouble has arisen on that score. Of course, after a year's trial, it is found that not all of the promised reforms have been fully carried out; and some of the papers complain. Hot-headed students and demagogues denounce the government, and predict a speedy overthrow; all of which is mere twaddle, for the government gives the people quiet and protection, and is evidently doing all in its power to make real all the ideal reforms which it promises to the land. To counteract the preponderating influence of the two clans Satsuma and Choshin, a system of examinations was promised for the civil service. It is to be feared that that has not yet been found quite fully workable, and it may be that many who went out at one door have come in at another; so that another cleaning-out will probably be needed before very long. Japan, however, is not the only land in which civil service reform cannot be effected in a day.

The new cabinet, and the constitution in process of incubation, is largely modelled after that of Prussia; the Germans affording a sort of halfway-house to the freer modes of Anglo-Saxondom, still too far in advance for Japan. This, with Germany's peculiar attitude in regard to the treaty revision, has brought Germany, German trade, German learning, and German officials to the front. It was thought at one time that this would have an injurious effect on the study of the English language, and give an impulse to the study of German. The very opposite has resulted. There may be a slightly increased interest in the study of German for local purposes; but the national instincts have gone beyond the halfway-house, and aim at the mastery of English, as a stepping-stone to the intellectual riches and political freedom of Anglo-Saxondom. There is a perfect furore for the acquisition of English. And the need of English teachers puts into the hands of Christendom a most potent factor, if the churches would only make use of it to a large extent, to reach and mould the youth of the land.

Added to the impetus given to the spread of English as the language of learning, is the growing dislike of the Chinese ideograph which handicaps the vernacular, and belates the student in his race with modern thought. Early in 1885 the Romanization Society, aiming at replacing the old characters by the Roman letter, was formed, and rapidly grew to large dimensions, counting among its members the *élite* of Japan's learned men of modern tendencies. A Romanized paper is regularly published, and the use of the Roman letter is gradually spreading. Slowly but surely, the old system is being undermined; and it only remains for the educational department to introduce the new system into the schools, to make the reform as complete and permanent as any other great reform the country has known.

The educational department has been very active; great internal changes have taken place in the constitution of the Imperial University and kindred

colleges, tending toward centralization. Time has not yet shown whether the changes are for the best or not. One strange anomaly is in having German professors teach Japanese through the medium of the English language!

One very important, if not the most momentous event of the past year, was the establishment of a working basis for treaty revision, satisfactory alike to Japan and the treaty powers. Great Britain is proverbially conservative, and, in her diplomatic relations with these far-off lands, moved perhaps more slowly than could be wished. But with the advent of the present minister, over two years ago, a new *régime* of advance was inaugurated. England showed herself willing to meet the Japanese half-way, and ever since then the feeling toward the 'Great Britain of the West' has grown more cordial. The United States had long declared for a liberal revision of the treaty, and held a warm place in the nation's heart. The petty powers who had long sheltered themselves behind the conservatism of England, and threw the blame of delay on her, now are the chief hinderances in the way of a settlement of the question. The United States and Great Britain ask for no special favors for themselves or their nationals, whether in trade or otherwise, as the price of justice done to Japan. Germany has been brought — or rather bought — into line; for every ounce of justice has demanded and obtained its pound of gold. Hence the secret of railway contracts and other favors to Germans. France says, 'Why should we agree to this and that, which simply put so many plums into Germany's mouth?' The basis having been agreed upon early in the year, it was sent to the home governments, and in the fall the work on details was begun. If the inner history of the repeated and prolonged conferences of these representatives of sixteen Christian nations, with the representatives of the Japanese government, could be unfolded to the public, it would be an edifying comment on our boasted superiority. The splendid patience of Count Inouye in face of a diplomatic problem, the like of which the world's history nowhere records, — one nation treating with sixteen nations wholesale, — and the pettifogging chess-playing of the smaller powers, either to snatch the largest nut, or to prevent some other power from getting a slight advantage, utterly ignoring all questions of justice, or of the rights of Japan, — certainly shames our so-called Christian civilization. It is to be hoped that this year will see the end of the farce, and culminate in relieving Japan of these galling fetters on her independent action.

Only three years remain between this and the fateful year 1890, when the parliament elected by the suffrages of the people is to meet. A vast amount of work has yet to be done in preparation for that event. Young Japan is becoming more intensely excited in anticipation of the change. What is needed above every thing else now is a mighty growth of Christianity, to give spiritual life and moral balance to the feverish spirit of revolution, and give the nation the steady calmness of faith in God.

C. S. EBY.

TOKIO, February 10, 1887.

LECTURE VII.

MODERN NOVEL OPPORTUNITY FOR CHRISTIAN UNION.

THE UNITY OF NATURAL AND REVEALED RELIGION.

It will have been noticed that my effort thus far has been to show the oneness of the Eternal Reason and the Eternal Word, or of the Essential and the Historic Christ. Spiritual theism without Christ is the subtlest form of rationalism in our time, and the adoption of it would be the greatest peril to which our modern age could be exposed. Spiritual theism with Christ is what I have been defending, and I have endeavored to do this along the lines which are accepted as legitimate sources of proof by the friends of unmixed spiritual theism themselves. It is vastly important that the Church should be made one in its reverence for fundamental doctrine, and the schools one, and the churches and the schools one, and so ultimately the churches and the schools and the State one.

A friend of mine on the St. Lawrence, not long since, dreamed that he saw Him who once had not where to lay his head, and who spake as never man spake, appear before an assembly of mortals to instruct the militant Church. This scene actually occurred in the brain of the entranced sleeper. He thought he saw Christ stand before a great multitude, and utter a single word. He uttered no more; but that word was taken up by celestial music, and sung as it was pronounced. It was painted in living rainbows on the canopy of the seventh heaven; and the music and the rainbows grew more and more ravishing until my friend awoke. That single word was ONE.

BUDS OF PROMISE IN CHRISTIAN UNION.

What are some of the buds of promise in the great field of Christian union? We have now many international religious organizations. It is becoming an exceedingly common thing, in the religious as in the political and philanthropic world, to call international conventions. We have the World's Women's Christian Temperance Union, with a lady possessed of the zeal of an apostle, making the tour of the planet, and planting roots of this banyan-tree in Australia, in Japan, in China, and now lately in India. We have Law and Order Leagues stretching from side to side of the land. We have Young Men's Christian Associations embracing Christendom. We have international Sabbath-school lessons. We have even Pan-Presbyterian conventions. We have a Congo Free State governed internationally by a combination of nations. We have a union of great denominations in evangelistic work. Large cities, with their fearful diseases, now begin to be treated by the methods of the Christian union. Denominationalism flourishes, but Christian union is more and more becoming the watchword of the Church within the Church. (Applause.)

The sunlight of God beating upon our modern civilization is quickening and unfolding these buds of promise of Christian union. It is a great peril in our time to live within the shell of denominationalism.

On what basis must Christian union be formed, if at all? I maintain these propositions: —

1. The union is to be at first, at least, a Christian union, and not a church union.

By a Christian union, I mean unity in doctrine, and, to some extent, in aggressive evangelical activity; but a union of all denominations, and the dropping of every divisive name, is not likely to be an event of the near future, much as it, perhaps, should be desired on many grounds. In some particulars, a variety of church organizations is a blessing. Very often, in a single town, two book-stores

will succeed where one may fail ; so two churches. But we must, on the whole, cultivate Christian union, even if we cannot have church union. Let the denominationalist possess for ages to come, if need be, his special organization ; but let the Church within the Church build itself more and more where the branches of the great Christian tree come together in one trunk.

I think I lived twenty-five years in the church, building my nest at the end of one denominational bough. I read the literature of one denomination ; I heard the speakers of one denomination ; I became interested in the philanthropies and religious endeavors of one denomination ; my outlook was through a slit ; I built my nest on one twig. I hope I am as much attached to that bough as ever, for it held my cradle ; but I am more and more building my nest now where all the evangelical boughs come together in the one trunk, our common Lord. (Applause.) It is a shame to a man of mature years to be a mere denominationalist. I revere the truths for which our denominations stand as champions. It is very important that the truths that make up the peculiarities of the five evangelical denominations, should all be emphasized more or less. But the things in which we are all agreed are far more important than any in which we differ. I do not want a union of evangelical and unevangelical denominations ; for history has shown that such a combination would be self-stultifying and would end in disorganization, and retardation of the progress of Christianity. But I would have a union based on the scheme of doctrine common to the whole evangelical world ; and wherever that scheme of thought is presented, I would have the Christian feel that he is in the holy of holies of his own home.

Let us hasten the unfolding of the buds of promise of Christian union in doctrine and in organization.

2. Christian union is to be based on the ethical creed of theistic realism.

3. It is to be based on the Christology of theistic realism. It is to teach both self-surrender to the self-evident, and to the mind that was in Christ.

4. It is to do both in the name of science and common-sense, as well as of religion.

5. It is to teach, therefore, with supreme emphasis, the necessity of the new birth, and of an atonement; that is, of deliverance from both the love and the guilt of sin.

6. It is to be based on the historic Gospel, and so harmonized with Christ's commission to his disciples, and with his prayer that his Church may be one.

7. It is to be an organization for the world.

8. It is to bring all things into subjection to the Eternal Reason and the Eternal Word.

WORLD-WIDE UNITY OF ROMANISM.

No doubt Romanism is an immense peril to modern republics. It is likely to undermine many of the weaker governments of Europe yet, unless it can control them. But I venture to champion the central thought of Romanism considered as an ecclesiastical aspiration. The lofty ambition of the rulers of ancient Rome descended to the Roman pontiffs, whose line comes down to our time; and they, as truly as ever the Cæsars did, have taken for their field the entire earth. And they have a right to do so. It would be to the advantage of Protestantism to imitate Roman-Catholic comprehensiveness of view in the organization of the Church in our time. Let us properly abhor the theory of papal infallibility; let us cast off all allegiance to schemes of error which poison Roman Catholicism; but let us reverence the baptized breadth of the Roman outlook, let us have an ambition as lofty, let us take under our care a field as broad as Romanism has cultivated. Protestantism will never be able to occupy the field of the world, unless, through some safe form of Christian union, it clasps the whole earth in organized activities, cosmopolitan in range.

NEW FORMS OF CHRISTIAN UNION.

Why should Christian international law not be made so influential as to be able to throw the opium-trade into the

sea, and protect weak nations generally from aggressions by the strong? I would imitate in other portions of Africa the example of the Congo Free State in putting down the slave-trade. Wherever there is international mischief, let us place Christianity at the front as a reformer of it. The time is coming when Christians will have daily newspapers of their own in all great centres of population. Why should we leave the channels of public discussion to be filled with more or less poisoned currents, when we might fill them with the crystalline waters from the springs of life? There will be greater and greater union in revivals. Why should not there be an evangelical union to send revivalists from side to side of the land, and even from nation to nation, and lecturers and revivalists around the whole earth? We have in England a union of the various branches of the Established Church for the maintenance of a society for the discussion of the Christian evidences, and it has done excellent work in issuing volumes of standard authority. Why should there not be international Christian evidence societies and platforms, representing evangelical opinions, and equipped for the thorough discussion of every practical reform? The Church is inert, somnolent. It does not see the size of its modern opportunity, and the waste of opportunity continues to be the chief peril of the Church.

The Biblical ideal beckons us to a better age. Nothing less lofty than the aspirations of prophecy, and of the prayer of Christ for the unity of all those whose lives are hid in his one life, is fit to be the basis of Christian union and aggressiveness.

“Unto us a Child is born,
Unto us a Son is given.
And the government shall be upon his shoulder.
And his name shall be called Wonderful,
Counsellor, Mighty God,
Everlasting Father, Prince of peace.
Of the increase of his government there shall be no end.
The zeal of the Lord of hosts will perform this.”

VIII.

NEW POLITICAL OUTGROWTHS OF
CHRISTIANITY.

WITH A PRELUDE ON

PERJURY AND DISLOYALTY AMONG MORMONS.

THE 194TH LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP,
DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE, MARCH 28, 1887.

BOSTON HYMN.

GOD'S BLISS.

SUNG AT TREMONT TEMPLE, MARCH 28, AT THE ONE HUNDRED AND
NINETY-FOURTH BOSTON MONDAY LECTURE.

1. God now girds with flowers the zone,
Clasps His right arm round His own
Planet's breast, and claspeth all
Suns and planets, great and small :
Bliss hath He who bliss doth give
In all worlds to all that live.
2. God now moves in summer heat,
Fills with growth His rolling fleet
Planet's breast, and filleth all
Suns and planets, great and small :
Bliss hath He who bliss doth give
In all worlds to all that live.
3. God now ripens autumn corn,
Swathes in gold His else forlorn
Planet's breast, and swatheth all
Suns and planets, great and small :
Bliss hath He who bliss doth give
In all worlds to all that live.
4. God now whiteneth earth with snow,
Cleanseth with His rains His low
Planet's breast, and cleanseth all
Suns and planets, great and small :
Bliss hath He who bliss doth give
In all worlds to all that live.

JOSEPH COOK.

INVOCATION.

OUR Father in heaven, our supreme prayer is that Thou wilt deliver us from both the love and the guilt of sin. Beholding Thee as our Saviour, we here and now gladly and irreversibly choose Thee as Lord also. Prepare us for our nearest duties, and for the great and near hereafter. Wilt Thou comfort all who are afflicted, lift up all who are bowed down, strengthen all who are weak, and make wise all who need illumination. Whether we are to see each others' faces again, Thou knowest. Thy face, from before which the heavens shall flee away as unclean, we shall never cease to behold. Exposure to Thyself we cannot escape, and it will be to us heaven, or perdition. So transform and shield us and all men by the New Birth and the Atonement, that, in the light of Thy countenance, we may find not a consuming fire, but that city which hath no need of the sun, and in which there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying, nor any thing that defileth, but in which the nations of the redeemed shall walk, having in their foreheads the name of Him who is Alpha and Omega, and saying, Blessing and glory and wisdom and thanksgiving and honor and power and might be unto our God for ever and ever. And this we ask for our Redeemer's sake. Amen.

PRELUDE VIII.

PERJURY AND DISLOYALTY AMONG MORMONS.

A LARGE audience was present at Tremont Temple at the one hundred and ninety-fourth Boston Monday lecture, although a very heavy rain was falling during nearly the whole of the forenoon. The Rev. Dr. Gordon presided. The hymn entitled "God's Bliss" was sung by the audience, under the leadership of Mr. Ryder at the organ. The committee in charge of the Lectureship presented a highly favorable report, and were re-elected for another season, the Rev. V. A. Lewis being substituted for the Rev. Mr. Green, who has removed from the city. Mr. Cook answered a question as to recent misleading comments of New Departure journals, on certain positions defended by the Lectureship; and his remarks were received with most emphatic expressions of approval by the audience.

The Pundita Ramabai of India was introduced by Mr. Cook, and made an interesting address in answer to a question as to the best methods of improving the condition of women in India.

A symposium of twenty-two letters from distinguished specialists was read in part, in an after-meeting, extending until two o'clock, and the whole series of communications was promised for publication, April 15.

SHALL WE HAVE A MORMON STATE?

THE cloud which we have so long seen hovering over the hills of the Far West appears likely to be dissipated or to burst within the next five years, possibly within the next eighteen months. What is the latest Mormon conspiracy?

1. Mormon voters, at the command of their priesthood, are committing wholesale perjury, in order to retain political power.

2. On account of this perjury, the latest Mormon legislation is found to be totally insufficient to meet the demands of the present crisis in Utah.

3. There is now on foot a deep-laid plot to bring Utah into the Union before the next Presidential election, and give her electoral vote to the party that makes the easiest conditions for the Mormon priesthood.

4. If Utah were admitted, with polygamy nominally abolished, and the power of the priesthood not broken, their political influence would soon restore polygamy under the shield of State rights, and drive into great distresses or exile the non-Mormon population.

5. Congress, and the President himself, are yet far too largely under the influence of a Mormon lobby of great wealth, and often of thorough-going unscrupulousness.

6. The Christian schools in Utah are prospering, and are to be in every way commended and strengthened, but are not rapid enough in their operation to avert the great political perils attending the present local and national relations of Utah.

Let no one think that the Christian schools in Utah are underrated on this platform, or by any of its friends; for over and over I have had the pleasure of championing the cause of Christian education in that Territory. But I am yet of the opinion that while these schools are immensely efficient, they are far from being sufficient to meet the political needs of the hour.

7. The opinions of Federal judges, preachers, editors, teachers, and leading business-men in Salt Lake City do not coincide with the general impression of the East, that recent anti-Mormon legislation is enough for the present.

8. Those opinions are yet substantially unanimous in favor of governing Utah temporarily by a legislative commission, as Louisiana was once governed.

9. They are urgent in emphasizing the peril of admitting Utah to the Union without removing from the disloyal Mormon priesthood their political power.

10. In view of the perils of the next eighteen months, it is important that members of Congress, newspapers, press, pulpit, and platform should be aroused to the duty of counter-acting the latest Mormon conspiracy, and securing the protection of a republican form of government for all classes in Utah, and preventing perjury from being used as a weapon of disloyalty.

LETTER FROM SALT LAKE CITY.

Let me justify these assertions by reading an important communication from Salt Lake City, containing news of an alarming nature, which has not yet been given to the public by the press. It is possible that some of you remember that on a second visit of mine to Salt Lake City I had the pleasure of meeting twenty or thirty of the foremost citizens of that town, in the parlors of the Rev. Dr. R. G. McNiece, a well-known Presbyterian preacher and reformer. Dr. McNiece is regarded as perhaps the very best specialist in the discussion of the Mormon problem, that Utah has developed among her preachers. No politician has discussed the situation in Utah with more intelligence than he has done. He has had a commission from me for five years to send the freshest information to this platform concerning any Mormon conspiracies. The fact that I quote this letter is not to be construed as an attack upon Senator Edmunds; but it is necessary for me to let both sides be heard, and therefore I read every syllable that has been sent to me, because I believe the inspiration of it is not partisan opposition to any one in Congress. The writer of this letter is a stern Republican, and a great admirer, as I happen to know, of the distinguished senator from Vermont.

SALT LAKE CITY, March 18, 1887.

Dear Mr. Cook,—The situation changes here so rapidly that I have purposely delayed writing until near the close of your present series of lectures, in order to give you the latest information from this anti-American province in the heart of the Republic.

1. Let me speak of the recent legislation by Congress. Although Eastern people, as I learn from some of my friends here who have recently returned from the East, seem to think the new Edmunds Bill (it is not fair to call it the Edmunds-Tucker Bill now, since the grand and really vital parts of the bill were ruthlessly stricken out before it passed the Senate) is going to secure a complete settlement of the Utah question at once, the intelligent and patriotic men here, who have borne the brunt of the conflict for years, are sadly disappointed over this new legislation. They admit that this new law has many excellent features, such as the abolition of woman suffrage because of its shameful abuse; the restoration of the rights of dower for the

first wife, which Brigham Young had taken away; the punishment of sexual crimes, which the laws of the Territory ignored; the re-districting of the Territory for elections to the Legislature, etc. Still, so far as any final settlement of the Mormon question is concerned, the new bill bids fair to be a practical failure, like all its predecessors, and for the same reason; namely, that it *still leaves the civil power of the Territory in the hands of the same anti-American priesthood that has steadily merged the State in the Church, and trampled a republican form of government in the dust, for nearly forty years.* I am forced to reiterate what I have so often called attention to, that there is not now, and never has been, a republican form of government in this American Territory. The only local government that has ever existed here is the government of the priesthood, for the priesthood, and by the priesthood. Taxation of Americans without representation has existed here for a score of years; for only once in that time has an American been allowed to be a member of the Legislature, although for ten years the Americans have paid about two-fifths of the Territorial taxes. Just one American for one session allowed to be a member of the Legislature in twenty years!

Now, this new bill simply prolongs this grievous injustice. As it came from the House it was a remedy for this wrong; for it allowed the President to appoint the upper house of the Legislature, and also put the appointment of all county and municipal officers in the hands of the President and governor, until a new legislature could be organized. Why Senator Edmunds should have taken the lead in cutting out these most important and vital parts of the bill, and giving us a superficial measure which continues the strife and most of the old governmental abuses, is a mystery to us here. It is now twenty-five years since Congress gave this Territory the first anti-polygamy legislation. Certainly that is long enough to experiment with superficial measures which carefully evade the vital point of the whole difficulty; namely, the anti-republican rule of a disloyal priesthood.

And it is a significant fact that the most strenuous and unreasonable opposition to needed legislation has come from Boston. Mormonism as it is, with all its social, civil, and moral rottenness, has had three public champions from Boston. One is no less a person than ex-Secretary Boutwell, who did not hesitate to go before the House Judiciary Committee last spring, in the interests of the priesthood, and use his utmost endeavors to prevent legislation which would deprive them of their outrageous tyranny. Another is Patrick Collins, a member of the House from one of the Boston districts. Both in the House and on the Conference Committee he left no stone unturned to perpetuate the power of this same priesthood. The third is Capt. John Codman, correspondent of the New York Evening Post, who never loses any opportunity to apologize for Mormonism, and to grossly misrepresent and slander the patriotic Americans of Utah.

2. But how about the practical results of the new Edmunds law? Well, if the senator supposed that the test oath, which is about the only important feature of Judge Tucker's rigorous bill he allowed to escape his pruning-knife, would settle things here, and purge the Territorial and municipal

governments of notorious law-breakers and disloyal enemies of every thing American, it shows that he has not a clear understanding of the situation here. In order to vote in Utah, the oath requires a man to swear that he will obey the laws against polygamy and other kindred crimes, and this new law in particular, and "will not directly or indirectly aid or abet, counsel or advise, any other person to commit any of said crimes." Now, how a man can be a devoted member of the Mormon Church which constantly inculcates polygamy as one of its central doctrines, and pay tithing to support that Church in pushing forward polygamy, and still take the above oath without hesitation, may not be apparent to Senator Edmunds. But it is very clear to those of us who live here, and understand the Mormon character. We have never doubted that the Mormons would swallow that oath with as much readiness as a child drinks milk. This matter was fully settled at the municipal election week before last in Brigham City, eighteen miles northwest of Ogden, where the Mormons as a whole, including the most notorious champions of polygamy, gulped down the oath, and voted the priesthood's ticket with the utmost dexterity.

About two weeks ago, a list of petit jurors was sworn before the third district court in this city. Many of them were Mormons, and all took the oath very readily. The next day several of these Mormon jurors were called to sit in a polygamy case; and when Mr. Dickson, the United States District Attorney, examined them as to their qualifications, they swore they believed polygamy to be right, because a Divine institution, and of course were discharged from the case. Look at it. The same men who, on the day before, swore they would obey the laws of Congress condemning polygamy as a crime, did not hesitate on the day following to swear, in substance, they believed polygamy to be right, and that the laws against it should not be obeyed! Is it any wonder, with such an anti-American system to deal with, that we are aggravated to see Congress continue, after twenty-five, yes forty years of experience, to pass superficial measures which the priesthood snap their fingers at, and continue, as of old, to merge the State in the Church? One of the excuses given in one of the Mormon papers, for this peculiar and contradictory way of swearing, is that Congress has disincorporated the Mormon Church, and hence they are no longer members of it, and so do not aid and abet the crime of polygamy!

3. What of the future? Well, it is certainly full of perilous omens, so far as Utah is concerned. There is circumstantial evidence of a deep-laid scheme to admit Utah as a State, and thereby secure three more presidential electors to tip the political scale. I cannot stop now to outline this evidence. And it is because of this scheme, that all the patriotic men of Utah, with hardly an exception, are opposed to the anti-polygamy amendment to the Constitution. In the first place, it is no more needful than an amendment against horse-stealing; and, in the second place, it is dangerous, because a preparatory step to the statehood of Utah. Notice the men who are advocating this amendment, except Judge Tucker.

We are not a little mystified and troubled here over the President's shifting and uncertain attitude on the Utah question. It would seem to be

through his approval, if not advice, that Gov. West, shortly after his arrival here last spring, made that notorious visit to the penitentiary, and promised the polygamists there, if they would agree to obey the laws of the land hereafter, he would try to secure a pardon for them from the President. Why he should have selected polygamists for this privilege rather than horse-thieves, the most of us here could not see. In his December message, the President ignored Utah altogether. Then he not only failed to sign the new bill, but followed it up, on March 5, by the pardon of the notorious polygamist Joseph Evans, although the President was forced to admit that Evans would not promise to obey the law against polygamy. Just read the President's statement on the subject, which I append:—

“Similar action was taken in the case of Joseph Evans, who was convicted of polygamy and unlawful cohabitation, and sentenced in November, 1884, to five years and six months in the Utah penitentiary, and to pay a fine of \$250. The President indorsed this application as follows:—

“Granted. This convict is nearly seventy years old, and was convicted of polygamy and unlawful cohabitation. He has been imprisoned more than two years, and his pardon is prayed for by his legal wife. *Though he will not promise to obey the law against polygamy*, yet I am determined that the hardship in his case shall not be cited to show that the Government is inclined to be vindictive in its attempt to extirpate the practice of polygamy.’

“*From Associated Press Despatches, March 6, 1887.*”

Now, if that is not a gross outrage on public justice, and most ungrateful treatment of the brave men who are trying to uphold free government in Utah, what is it? There was no hardship in Evans's case. He is a man of vigorous health, and was sentenced for three years instead of five. Moreover, Judge Lane, before giving the sentence, gave him a chance to keep out of the penitentiary, if he would promise to obey the laws. It would seem that the President has allowed himself to attach more importance to the statements of the lying and immoral representatives of the priesthood in Washington, than of those worthy men and women who have been here for years fighting the battles of free government and good morals. We certainly have a right to expect that the President will not allow himself to be imposed upon by the crocodile tears of female adventurers representing the priesthood, who go to Washington, and, taking the advantage of their supposed womanhood, gain access to the President, and act their part by presenting lying but pathetic appeals, when some of them are well known here to be of the most disreputable and immoral character.

Now, Mr. Cook, I have mentioned these things to give you an inside view of the mighty but immoral forces and influences which obstruct the path of civil and religious liberty in Utah, and to let the public know, through you, how important it still is to be vigilant and active in behalf of free government and good morals here. You know I have nothing but kindness and good-will toward the masses of the Mormon people, and wish to see them put in possession of the education which will prevent the priesthood from enslaving them. But to me the priesthood is another form of that tyrannical Carthage which of old threatened liberty. And so, on all occasions, I

am ready to unite with yourself and the patriotic Cato in saying, "Delenda est Carthaga," "Carthage must be destroyed."

The patriotic people of Utah are very grateful to you for the vigorous help you have given for many years in the great conflict going on here. You have helped us mightily on both Eastern and Western platforms. And, in my judgment, we shall need you more during the next eighteen months than ever before, in order to guard against unrighteous compromise.

I may conclude by saying that the great Christian denominations are pushing forward the religious and educational reformation of the Territory with more vigor and success than ever. They have American schools in about eighty different communities, employing about a hundred and sixty-five Christian teachers, and educating over five thousand children, seventy-five per cent of them from Mormon families. Now, let Congress arise and do its duty by giving us American government here.

As ever, most cordially and gratefully yours,

ROBT. G. McNIECE.

Not one in an hundred of the polygamists of Utah is yet touched by executed law. More are entering the plural state than are arrested for violating the National enactments against it. Ostracism in society, church and business, follows any Mormon who promises to obey the law. The public-school system and the local civil power are in the hands of a polygamous priesthood. A National Government with an annual surplus of nearly an hundred millions in its treasury throws upon the Christian churches of the country the burden of supporting American education in Utah. (See letters in sixth Annual Report of the New West Education Commission, October, 1886, pp. 17-23.) The loyal inhabitants of that vast territory, after twenty years of oppression, ask to be relieved from the domination of a treasonable power which subjects them to taxation without representation. To this pathetic prayer of the beleaguered patriots of Utah, let all the people say, Amen. (Applause.)

QUESTIONS.

What should be done to improve the condition of the women of India?

It is not easy to forget that widows were once burned alive in India. They are yet starved in both body and soul. There are now in India twenty-one million widows, half of whom were never wives. Since the Ganges began to roll, no other such figure as that of the learned Hindu widow, whom I am now to have the honor of introducing to a Boston audience, has been reflected in its waters. She is the morning star of reformed conditions for woman, in a land containing twice as many people as any Cæsar ever governed.

Her father, a distinguished Brahmin of Mysore, suffered much for his advocacy of education for Hindu women. When only seventeen or eighteen years of age, the daughter wrote a volume, entitled "Woman's Accomplishments." This was so highly approved by the learned circles of her own countrymen, that she was invited by them to address audiences on the same subject. She did so, with great discretion and extraordinary success. She speaks Marathi, Hindustanee, Bengalee, and can extemporize in Sanskrit verse. When an English commission met at Poona, near Bombay, to discuss reforms in Hindu education, this lady led to its sessions a company of two hundred high-caste Brahmin women, who petitioned the commission to use its influence to secure better education for women, and the abolition of child-marriages in India. All this time she was in full sympathy with the theistic societies more or less closely affiliated with the movement led by Keshub Chunder Sen. In Bombay, American and Scottish missionaries showed such sympathy with her efforts, that she fell somewhat under the

influence of the Christian churches. Dr. Murray-Mitchell gave her an annotated copy of the Maratha New Testament. In 1883 she went to England, where she perfected her knowledge of the English language, and taught Sanskrit as professor in Cheltenham College. Meanwhile her study of Christianity continued. By the blessing of Heaven she has become a Christian of a thoroughly genuine and evangelical, but not of a denominational, type. She was baptized as a member of the Church of England. She is not connected with any missionary organization, but is in cordial sympathy with all the evangelical churches. On the 5th of March, 1886, she reached America, in response to an invitation from the distinguished Dean of the Woman's Medical College of Philadelphia, Miss Rachel L. Bodley. She is engaged in making a thorough study of female education in America. She hopes to found in India institutions to promote the education, and elevate the condition, of womanhood; so that her native country may become a leader in the regeneration of society throughout Asia.

We welcome you as one called by Divine Providence to a difficult but most noble enterprise. In the success of it, millions yet unborn will reap a priceless harvest. We ask you to notice that on these shores woman owes her position to religion. We assure you that the real foundation of any prosperity our society has attained is not in our climate, not in our soil, not in our education in secular knowledge, not in our liberties, but in Christianity. You are standing near Bunker Hill, and not far from Plymouth Rock. These are two of the chief foundations of American strength and prosperity. We think it important to assure you, and we ask you to assure India, that Bunker Hill rests on the Decalogue, and Plymouth Rock on the Sermon on the Mount. (Loud applause.) We greet with you the Ganges and the Himalayas, the Taj Mahal and the Kutub Minar, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Cashmere, Ceylon. We salute with you the great spirits that have labored for the good of India,—Heber, Macaulay, Duff, Wilson, Lord Bentinck, Havelock, Keshub

Chunder Sen. We desire with you to see India prosperous, educated, great, free, and believe that it cannot be either the one or the other unless it is Christian. No inherited misbelief, no imported unbelief, can ripen the fruits which the Hindu mind is abundantly capable of producing. Our prayer is that as long as the sacred Ganges rolls to the sea, and the Himalayas front the sun and the stars, India may bring the multitudinous fruits of her subtle soul to perfection in the tropical radiance of an aggressive and undefiled Christian faith. (Applause.)

I have now the pleasure and honor of introducing the Pundita Ramabai of India. (Prolonged applause.)

ADDRESS BY THE PUNDITA RAMABAI.

I THANK you, people of Boston, for the kind welcome you have given me, and the only hearing I ask from you is on behalf of my countrywomen. Mr. Cook has put to me the question, In what way can the condition of the women of India be bettered? We have only one desire now, and that is, that education may be given to us.

Until now, that is to say for about two thousand years, we have been kept altogether under the feet of men. No religion except the worship of husbands has been taught to us. No education except in household work and house management has been given to the women of India. And the consequence is, we are looked down upon as creatures good for nothing, and, as the lawgiver describes us, "as foul as falsehood." No better position in heaven is granted to us than the seat of the husband; whether we be in hell or in heaven, we must worship and serve him. It is ignorance that keeps us under the feet of men. And we want now the great power of knowledge. When we are endowed with that power, we shall be lifted up from our present degradation.

And I propose to do this kind of work. It has been the object of my life, and it is the one hope I entertain, that I may do at least something towards the elevation of my countrywomen. It is not I who can do it; I am too weak. I ask you, good friends, to help me in this work. You know the condition of our widows, how hard it is; how they are not allowed to marry again, if they belong to the high caste; how they are looked upon as if they were murderers and the greatest criminals in the world; how they are

starved, and looked down upon as the disgrace of society. If we can take hold of these widows, and train them to be teachers, and send them among our women, and let them teach, and do the work for themselves which we want them to do, that will be the best plan. When I go home, I propose to open a school for widows, in which they can be instructed, and at the same time supported, if they are not able to support themselves. In this way alone, as far as my knowledge goes, can we render good service to the women of India, and, indeed, to the men of India too. For our men do not believe that any thing good can come out of women. Neither did those Jews of old believe any thing good could come out of Galilee. But we believe that the things which are the lowest, and which are most looked down upon, are sometimes able to produce what is the best in the world. And we hope that our women who are looked down upon may be a blessing to all India, and some day may be a blessing to the whole world.

I believe it is through women alone that India can be elevated, and through women alone that not only India, but the whole world, will be elevated. And it is the duty of every man and of every woman who believes in goodness, and in the elevation of mankind, and in doing good, to give some help to our people who desire it of them. And the help should be given in this way, to educate women, and through them the men and children. (Applause.)

The Pundita Ramabai addressed for an hour a meeting of over one hundred guests, at Mr. and Mrs. Cook's parlors at 23, Beacon Street, on Monday evening, March 28, on the condition of women in India. The address was reported in full by Mr. Bacon, and will be published in a supplementary number.

LECTURE VIII.

NEW POLITICAL OUTGROWTHS OF CHRISTIANITY.

THEISTIC REALISM IN REFORM.

HEW to the line of the mind that was in Christ! Hew to the line of self-surrender to the self-evident! These are the unflinching inculcations of theistic realism in ethical science. They are the only safe watchwords of reform in education, religion, and politics. Co-operation with God is the source of all strength and wisdom; but the proof that we are really co-operating with God is to be found nowhere unless in our fellowship with the Eternal Word and in self-surrender to the Eternal Reason, which are one.

What pertinency has all this to the vexed discussions of our day? It is important to steer by the compass, and not by the foam. On many an ocean I have watched the bubbles passing a ship by day and by night, but I never yet saw a helmsman guide a ship by the waves or by the winds. By night and by day the compass under its binnacle points to the north, and by night and by day the subtle life in the sensitive needle governs the wheel of the helmsman. What I wish is so to emphasize the watchwords, Hew to the line of the mind that was in Christ! Hew to the line of self-surrender to the self-evident! that however the waves foam, however they buffet us, we shall follow the Compass.

1. There is no doubt that self-evident truth has a Kingdom.

2. There can be no question that this Kingdom is omnipresent, immutable, irresistible, holy.

3. It is wholly indisputable that this Kingdom has im-

mense penalties to inflict, and immense rewards to offer. There are a right hand and a left of the Throne of the nature of things. Salvation and perdition are no dreams, under the natural laws of the universe.

4. Self-evident truth has no rival. It cannot be repealed.

5. The government *is* on *its* shoulder.

6. But *IT* is *HE*. The sum of the self-evident truths is only the mode of action of Omnipotence. The Eternal Reason is identical with the Eternal Word.

7. There *is*, therefore, a Kingdom of God. The government *is* on *his* shoulder.

8. The identity of the scientific and the Biblical ideals of the Kingdom of God is the supreme truth of theistic realism. As to self-evident truth and God, it is certain that the government on *its* shoulder is government on *his*.

This is not theology. It is not rhetoric. It is bare statement of the most indisputable scientific fact. Now, you who wrestle with the demons of our time, you who are tossed to and fro with the winds of doctrine, ought to make use of what can no longer be disputed in ethical science. You ought to base practical considerations on it, that shall undergird reform in temperance, social purity, and conflict with every kind of personal, social, national, and international mischief. I have a most serious, practical purpose in all I say on abstract matters here; and when this course of thought shall be completely wrought out, I believe you will see that it has not only a heart and a head, but hands that have a grip on every-day affairs.

9. From the identity of the scientific and Biblical ideals of the Kingdom of God, flow such far-reaching principles as the Divine origin and authority of civil government; the Kingship of the Eternal Reason and the Eternal Word over individuals, families, states, and nations; the authority of Christ as the Incarnation, and of the Scriptures as the Revelation, of that Word; the duty of nations, as well as of individuals, to acknowledge God; the responsibility of voters for the choice of righteous men for civil office; the moral primacy of the true Church.

10. These principles cover the law of the Sabbath, the Christian ideal of marriage, the subjects of polygamy and divorce, the Bible in schools, the temperance reformation, public justice, the rights and liberties of men, the labor question, public acts of civil worship, the prevention of war, the cause of peace and international arbitration, woman's enlarging sphere, evangelistic agencies, Christian unity, aggressiveness, and liberality. (See an admirable statement of principles in the last prospectus of the *Christian Statesman*, March, 1887, with which, although the conclusions are reached from a different point of departure, the last two propositions are designedly made parallel.)

Hegel's law of progress is that ideals rise, and wants with them, to higher and higher levels, and so progress becomes a moral necessity.

This law will continue in force: God is behind it.

De Tocqueville thought the progress of democracy the result of a Divine decree.

So much by way of background. And now let us glance at the condition of politics to which I would apply these principles.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

What is the greatest question in the future of the British Empire? The sun never sets on it; and the outlying portions will very soon contain a larger population than the mother islands. As soon as the great majority of English-speaking people shall be found in the British Empire outside those islands, it will be impossible to keep the skirts of the empire wholly subject to the centre. The majority will not allow the little population in the islands to rule them in questions of imperial moment. The great question, therefore, for the British Empire is, Confederation or disintegration, which? Imperial federation is the question of the hour with our brethren across the sea, and it is one of the utmost urgency. In Shakespeare's time England used to be called "a swan's nest in a great pool." Mr. Freeman, using very sublime meta-

phors, now calls England "a world Venice, with the oceans for its streets." There is coming, and perhaps earlier than most of us expect, a re-organization of British politics, on some such plan as that which dominates the American Union. Monarchy may not be overthrown, the House of Lords may last for centuries yet; but a loose confederation of the empire is likely to be brought about on the ground of a combination of federal and local authority.

There will soon be two sets of United States, a British and an American, each speaking one language, having to a great degree the same blood in their veins, and both revering representative government. We have sixty millions of people now; we are likely to have, within the lifetime of some who listen at this moment, a hundred millions. I hope myself to live to see the sun in heaven shining on a hundred millions of people, within the present borders of the Republic, in 1910; that is, thirty years after we had fifty millions. (Applause.) We have doubled our population every fifty years, for the last one hundred or two hundred years; and we are likely to continue doing so for the next one hundred.

Great changes are soon to occur in China. The Marquis Tseng has lately published in the Asiatic Review an elaborate article, in which he tells us that China does not care to force emigration; that the flood of Chinamen that has gone out of the Celestial Empire of late might have had support at home; that the result of the Taeping rebellion has been to scatter the Chinese; and that China means to open railways and mines, and that she expects to keep her population within her own bounds. "Whoever would see the Eastern world," said Daniel Webster once, "before it turns into a Western world, must make his visit soon." (Oration on the Landing at Plymouth.)

Immense changes are to occur in India, and among the noblest of them will be those resulting from the efforts of the native reformers who scatter God's word among her crowded populations. Immense changes are to occur in Africa and in Europe and in the United States. But no

changes will diminish the importance of the watchwords, Hew to the line of the mind that was in Christ! Hew to the line of self-surrender to the self-evident!

What, then, must we say concerning the now immense extension of representative government? Democracy has come to remain. All men are to be free, inside the range of the English-speaking races; and the contagion of freedom will be caught by the rest of the world. It is, or ought to be, a familiar thought among Americans, that when men are the most free, they most need to be under the government of religious motives. As De Tocqueville said over and over, men never so much need to be made theocratic as when they are the most democratic. A crisis exists at home; a crisis is arising abroad.

THEOCRACY THE ONLY HOPE OF A DEMOCRACY.

My three chief propositions, as to modern novel opportunity in politics, are:—

1. Nothing less than a theocracy can save a democracy.
2. A theocracy can be perfected on earth now only through a Christian democracy.
3. A great day of triumph, or a terrible day of disaster, draws nigh for the Church.

Either the Church will so saturate free population with conscientiousness, that the diffusion of liberty, intelligence, and property will become safe; or, while we build high, in the name of popular sovereignty, our political fabric, it will be without the mortar that alone can hold it together.

HUMAN AND DIVINE BASIS OF GOVERNMENT.

There is a deep sense in which government of the people is government from on high. We are told that the basis of all government is God's will. We are told also that the consent of the governed is the true basis of authority in civil affairs. At the last analysis these two bases are the same. Government of an enlightened and conscientious people cannot be made effective by their consent, except by the sur-

render of conscience to government. But God speaks in conscience. The cloud does not govern, but the lightning in the cloud; and so it is God in an enlightened and conscientious people, which is the basis of government.

The globe drops to the bottomless disorders of socialism and anarchy when God ceases to speak in the voice of the people. (Applause.) And it is the business of the Church to make the voice of the people and of God one. (Applause.)

What was the mind that was in Christ as to the duty of the strong toward the weak, and of going about from house to house doing good, and as to disciples washing each other's feet; as to chastity, and humility, and labor, and wealth, and war; and not merely as to these affairs of time, but those of eternity also, — the new birth, the atonement, and immortality?

The world has known a passion for liberty, a passion for equality, a passion for might, and something of the passion for right; but it will never be healed of its diseases except by a passion for holiness.

Democracy is possible in its highest form only through a theocracy. Its law was proclaimed when it was said, "One is your Father, and all ye are brethren."

TEMPERANCE, AND WOMAN'S VOTE.

For one, I have no other answer than that which is contained in these fundamental principles to give, when you ask me what will be the results of our discussion of reform concerning the liquor-traffic, and social purity, and education, and war. Hew to the line of the mind that was in Christ! These reforms all help each other; and yet it seems to be a law of history, that only one reform can be carried at a time in politics. We carried the reform against slavery, by the help of God; and next, perhaps, we shall carry that against the liquor-traffic. It would seem as if the cause of temperance, and that of labor, and that of woman's political emancipation, are coming to the front at once. Should we be able to mass these three causes, we might do something

strategic; but either alone is an issue vast enough for one generation. Although somewhat conservative on the topic of woman's vote, I wish it to come slowly, and never oppose moderate demands on this theme. I feel very sure the conflict with the liquor-traffic will be largely advantaged by giving women municipal suffrage, and I should like to see that reform carried to-morrow. (Applause.)

ULTIMATE CIVILIZATION.

Aristotle said that society comes together in order to live, but that it really exists that men may live well. ("Politics," 1, 28.) This profound saying leads to a religious view of trade, politics, art, literature, the family life, as well as of individual culture in all its departments. But it is only a single strategic sentence from the philosophy of Theistic Realism. Seneca, from the same point of view, often pointed out that *Deum sequi*, to follow God, is the supreme rule of political wisdom. Augustine, in his "City of God," has similar thoughts. So has Richard Rothe, whose "Theological Ethics" is one of the profoundest modern discussions of the responsibilities of the Church for universal progress. (See Professor Samuel Harris's thoroughly Biblical work on "The Kingdom of Christ on Earth.") To show at what high level modern scholarly thought stands on the theme of the world as a kingdom of God, and as a subject of redemption through the activity of the true Church, let me site a single very suggestive passage from a recent course of the famous Bampton lectures: —

"The Church of Christ is universal, co-extensive with the race. It is true that, the universal community being as yet without organization, all action relating to it is in a rudimentary condition. But it is also true that there is nothing of more importance, nothing, indeed, of more immediate and pressing importance, than its organization. For the present, no doubt, the nation is that which is most universal to us, since it contains all, or almost all, the elements of human life within it. But civilization has now reached a point at which the eyes of all Christian men should be turned distinctly in the direction of the universal Church, with a view to its definite constitution.

The Church has been too long content to pray, 'Give us this day our daily bread.' It is time that it should revert to the universal prayer, 'Thy kingdom come.' No individual is complete apart from the Church or Nation; and, similarly, *no nation is complete without the universal Church*. . . . The organization for worship takes its sacred readings, its prayers, its saintly examples, its books of devotion, its hymns, from many nations. The family, by intermarriages and by education, is connected with foreign countries. Knowledge passes from nation to nation, Art is cosmopolitan; trade is the unceasing reminder of the interdependence of the whole world; society is constantly refreshed by foreign intercourse; and the Nation, though in some respects complete in itself, has also its external aspects: it is a member of the greater whole of Christendom, and has its friends, its standing, its interests, its sphere of action in the great family of nations.

"The organization of the universal community . . . is as yet hardly begun. It can barely be credited with the prevention of war in a single case. Yet this is its first and indispensable function; and the demand for this, which grows louder and louder, must hasten its constitution. If this is regarded as Utopian at present, the presence of the vast subterranean forces of democracy and socialism will certainly make it practical before long. These dread twin-giants already make the mountain shake, and will eventually upheave it. The Spirit of Christ must go before, and make their action not violent but beneficent. The idea of universality was given by Imperial Rome. Whatever its faults, and they were many, for one great merit it earned the enthusiastic gratitude of mankind, even of the Christian Fathers. The Roman peace endeared the Roman unity, and the grateful remembrance of it has never been wholly extinguished. . . . The universal Church needs to be built up on the foundation of the Christian nations, which has now been fairly laid. . . . The universal Church must stand out ever more distinctly before us as a vision and an image looming larger and nearer. Its members are the various nations . . . which, though united, are never suppressed, but remain as living organisms. Its object is universal peace, and the carrying of Christian civilization to its highest and most universal results. The media of its communion are the universal needs, such as commerce, correspondence, and the possessions of the various nations which it comprehends. Through the regulated use or exchange of these, the nations edify one another, and these therefore become the sacraments of its life and worship. Its organs and its ministries must be established by some kind of representatives, who will exercise that portion of authority with which the nations voluntarily part. Whatever their particular functions may be, they will be, by virtue of their beneficent mission, truly ministers of God and organs of the Divine Spirit.

"When Western Europe becomes one great Church, the head or leading portion of the Church of humanity will be organized. It will then have

the duty of assimilating by degrees the more backward nations to itself. Colonization, commercial and other intercourse with the barbarous and savage races, the progressive effort to raise those races by the infusion among them of the spirit of Christian civilization, will form the functions of the Church now become fully universal; and the longed-for completion of this process is that which is expressed by the religious words, the building up of the Holy City, the establishment of the kingdom of God, the universal reign of Christ." — FREMANTLE: *The World as the Subject of Redemption*, Bampton Lectures for 1883, pp. 324-328.

Government by the House of Lords; government by the Commons; government by Congress and Legislatures; government by journalism! No: none of these are possible final forms of authority. Government by the Church as an organization! No: not even by that. Government by the still small Voice that speaks in the closet of devotion; government by a holy creed transmuted into deed; government by imitation of the mind that was in Christ; government by self-surrender to the self-evident! These forms of authority are final, and will endure. Not only secular but profoundly spiritual education must be pushed on, and the Church and all free populations must be taught in politics to hew to these lines. (Applause.)

The access of the supposed inspiration of the Delphic priestess was indicated by her violent trembling. In presence of the realities of the Eternal Reason and the Eternal Word, in their applications to politics, he who does not tremble is yet blind. A reformer, one of the noblest in the land, said in my parlors a few hours ago, "When I entered upon the work of securing scientific compulsory education in temperance for the children of all our States, I could not repeat the Lord's Prayer containing the petition 'Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done,' without trembling from head to foot." When every citizen of every nation thus trembles, the world will become a family of fraternal states. It will become a new earth in which dwelleth righteousness. All Christians, not only in one nation but in all nations, will clasp the globe as a political, social, and moral unit; and so

reform the vexed ages, that the voice of humanity shall echo God. Not merely the greatest earthly good of the greatest number is the highest object of government; but so to arrange all human affairs that the earth may shed the largest possible harvest of saved souls into eternity.

So shall our voice
Of sovereign choice
Sound the deep bass of duty done,
And strike the key
Of time to be,
When God and man shall speak as one.

WHITTIER: *The Eve of Election.*

(Applause.)

IX.

CURRENT RELIGIOUS PERILS.

A SYMPOSIUM BY

Rev. Prof. EDWARDS A. PARK, D.D.,
LL.D.

Rev. JOHN HALL, D.D.

Miss FRANCES E. WILLARD.

Rev. Prof. HERRICK JOHNSON, D.D.

Rev. JOSIAH STRONG, D.D.

Right Rev. F. D. HUNTINGTON, S.T.D.

Bishop W. R. NICHOLSON.

Right Rev. B. H. PADDOCK, D.D.

Right Rev. W. C. DOANE, S.T.D., LL.D.

Rev. THOMAS HILL, D.D.

Rev. CYRUS BARTOL, D.D.

Rev. S. C. BARTLETT, D.D.

Rev. Prof. G. F. MAGOUN, D.D.

Pres. J. H. FAIRCHILD, D.D.

Rev. CYRUS HAMLIN, D.D.

Pres. JULIUS H. SEELYE, D.D.

Rev. Prof. G. N. BOARDMAN, D.D.

Rev. Prof. S. I. CURTISS, D.D.

Rev. Prof. G. F. WRIGHT, D.D.

Rev. Prof. DANIEL STEELE, D.D.

Pres. ALVAH HOVEY, D.D.

Rev. Prof. I. E. DWINELL, D.D.

Rev. JOHN E. TODD, D.D.

Rev. E. K. ALDEN, D.D.

Hon. NEAL DOW.

WITH THE

REPORT OF THE MONDAY LECTURESHIP COMMITTEE,

PRESENTED AT THE 194TH BOSTON MONDAY

LECTURE, MARCH 28, 1887.

“ Um Mitternacht
Hab ich die Macht,
Herr über Tod und Leben,
In deine Hand gegeben:
Du hältst die Wacht,
Um Mitternacht.”

RÜCKERT.

“ Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott,
Ein gute Wehr und Waffen;
Er hilft uns frei aus aller Noth,
Die uns jetzt hat betroffen.
Der alte böse Feind
Mit Ernst er es jetzt meint,
Gross' Macht und viele List
Sein' grausam Rüstung ist,
Auf Erden ist nicht sein's Gleichen.”

LUTHER.

CURRENT RELIGIOUS PERILS.

A SYMPOSIUM ON THE QUESTION:
WHAT ARE THE CHIEF CURRENT RELIGIOUS PERILS?

23, BEACON STREET, BOSTON, March 15, 1887.

Dear Sir, — It is the habit of the Boston Monday Lectureship to seek information from distinguished authorities on all the topics it discusses, and sometimes to publish letters from experts on the most vital themes before the public.

The Symposium of 1885 was on the question: *Why do you personally believe Christianity to be a Divine Revelation?* That of 1886 was on the question: *What saves men, and why? or by what means, according to your personal conviction, may the soul obtain deliverance from the love of sin and the guilt of it?* The letters written to the Lectureship by Bishop Huntington, Professor Hodge, Professor Park, Ex-President Hopkins, Ex-President Hill, Ex-President Magoun, Professor Bowen, Professor Peabody, President Warren, the Rev. Dr. Hall, and the Rev. Dr. Storrs, and for which the Lectureship hereby returns its best thanks, have been widely republished in all English-speaking countries, especially in Scotland, England, India, and Australia.

A dozen leading professors and presidents of colleges will be asked this year to answer briefly the question: *What, in your opinion, are the chief current religious perils? or, in what particulars does modern Christianity fail to follow Christ?*

The letters received will be published, and it is hoped may form a *Symposium* on Current Religious Perils, that will do much good at home and abroad.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions lately solicited opinions of this kind for use in Japan, China, and India.

Will you favor the Boston Monday Lectureship by a brief letter of from 100 to 1,000 words in reply to the above question?

A reply on or before March 25 will be in time for publication.

Yours most respectfully,

A. J. GORDON,

President of the Boston Monday Lectureship.

JOSEPH COOK, *Lecturer.*

I.

From the Rev. Professor Edwards A. Park, D.D., LL.D., Andover, Mass.

ANDOVER, March 23, 1887.

MY DEAR MR. COOK, — I am aware that in different parts of our land there are different forms of danger to which the evangelical communities are exposed. Some of the perils threatening *this* part of our land are so intimately connected together that one almost certainly brings another in its train.

I. One source of danger is a neglect of the pulpit to enforce the divine law. In former days the pulpit was an echo to the voice of conscience. Even the opposers of evangelical religion gave prominence to the law of God as engraved on the tablets of the heart. Their claim was, that they followed the example of the Saviour, who was eminent in his enforcement of the law. He was truly eminent in this regard. His Sermon on the Mount was an explanation of the divine enactments. He described the legal sanctions more fully and more fearfully than they had been described by the Jewish prophets. Some of his mandates are so terrific that some men have turned pale at the very thought of obeying them. He commanded men to pray: "Forgive us our debts as we also have forgiven our debtors." Many a revengeful man has been afraid to offer this petition when he was repeating the other sentences composing the prayer of our Lord. Our most illustrious preachers, like Dr. John M. Mason of New York, gave a wonderful majesty to their discourses by following the example of their Master, and giving prominence to the law, its precepts, and its threatenings. They repeated the two great maxims that the law is a transcript of the divine perfections, and that a man who does not love the law does not love the gospel,

for the law as well as the gospel is a mirror reflecting the true character of God. We are now in imminent peril of representing the divine law as antiquated, as too severe. We are thus in imminent peril of lowering the authoritative tone of the pulpit, and lessening its power over the human conscience.

II. This peril leads to another, that of underrating the evil of sin, — the extent of it, the demerit of it. In proportion to the rightfulness of the commandment is the wrongfulness of disobeying it. The One Hundred and Nineteenth Psalm contains the exclamation, "Oh, how love I thy law! it is my meditation all the day;" and then follows the exclamation, "Mine eyes run down with rivers of water because they [men] observe not thy law." Because the apostle said, "I delight in the law of God after the inward man," he mourned over his unlawful conduct, and cried out, "Oh, wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me out of the body of this death?" Divines like Richard Baxter and John Howe portrayed in vivid colors the excellence of the commandment, and were thus enabled to portray with a like vividness the exceeding sinfulness of sin. There is reason to fear that the churches at the present day will take more interest in the ferns and the smilax and the calla lilies and the red roses which adorn the outside of the pulpit, than in any discourses which come from the inside of it on the extensive prevalence and intrinsic baseness of iniquity.

III. Affiliated to the dangers already named is the danger of underestimating the justice of God. Jonathan Edwards believed that all the divine attributes are comprehended in love; but the very terms in which he expressed his belief imply that one element in divine love is justice. His belief was, that justice, instead of being excluded from benevolence, is embosomed in it, and is glorified by it. Soon after Dr. Barnas Sears returned from his student-life in Germany, he remarked to me that he felt inclined to regard all the divine attributes as comprehended in justice. If President Sears had published his views as he presented them to me, they would have been found substantially the same with the views of President Edwards. The love of right is the hatred of wrong. The intention to reward a national benefactor is the same principle with an intention to punish a public malefactor. The parent who loves the members of his family will resist the burglar who comes to assassinate them. But the tendency of the modern pulpit is to strike out the divine justice from the divine benevolence, to sink benevolence into a sentiment rather than to exalt it into a principle. We have heard men boast that a new light has dawned upon the world. What is this new light? It is that love reigns, and not conscience, — love and not justice. Now, this new light is not the pure white light of heaven; it is a light the rays of which have been refracted and separated. The new theological prism puts asunder what God has joined together. Is the divine law a good or an evil? It is a good. Then justice is a good; for it is a disposition to execute the law. Every day we are hearing that theology is making swift progress. One mark of this progress is the fact, that a few years ago the sermons of evangelical divines were denounced as barbarous because they gave so much prominence to law and to justice, and now the Old Testament is denounced as barbarous for the same reason. We are told that the God whom the

Hebrew Scriptures reveal is a tyrant. Here we discover the edge of the precipice, down which we are in danger of plunging. When our preachers hesitate to exalt the divine justice, they are on the brink of ceasing to revere the divine law, to respect the authority of conscience, to magnify the distinction between right and wrong.

IV. From the habit of underrating the divine law and justice, the extent and demerit of human disobedience, men easily slide into the habit of underestimating the grace which has provided an atonement for sin. Grace presupposes justice; the more highly we reverence the latter, so much the more exalted will be our joy in the former. The memoir of David Brainerd illustrates the truth that men who dig deep will pile high, that men who mourn most bitterly over their transgressions are the men who rise to the highest ecstasy of delight in the Crucified One. "Speech is too penurious, not expressive enough" to shadow forth their complacency in the God-man upon the cross. They descry something immense and infinite in the very fact of his death. They feel their need of it, the fitness of it to supply their deepest want, the necessity for it as the sole remedy for their remorse. Now, as the majesty of the pulpit is lowered when preachers forget the law and the justice of God, so the tenderness of the pulpit is lost when preachers forget the melting scenes of Calvary. In the town of Boston about a century ago, only one of the Congregational pastors preached the doctrine that we are redeemed by the blood of Christ. But there were two pastors in the Baptist communion, Dr. Stillman and Dr. Baldwin, who made such pungent appeals to the conscience as prepared the way for affecting views of the propitiatory death. These two men stood up as pillars of the evangelical faith. When Dr. Griffin came to Park Street, in 1810, he delighted in those two Baptist churches, built up on strong foundations. If ministers fail to set in bold relief the penal death of sinners and the atoning death of Christ, they lose the power of the pulpit, although they may retain a kind of power in the pulpit. The human heart has chords of sympathy that can be touched by nothing else than the story of Gethsemane and Calvary. At the present day, there is danger of letting these chords lie untouched, like the strings of an *Æolian* harp when all the breezes have been lulled away. We have heard the remark that "the atonement has been overworked." That remark sounds like a funeral knell of the pulpit. When our preachers begin to tremble lest they shall overwork the passion on Calvary, they have come near to the beginning of the end. We know that a Channing, a Buckminster, a Dewey, and a Chapin may attract admiring auditors. Their preaching is consistent with their professions. When, however, a minister who professes to be evangelical is afraid of insisting on his main theme, then we cannot anticipate for him a prolonged evangelical influence unless the tragedy of Hamlet can be successful on the stage with the part of Hamlet left out, or an athlete can achieve a victory in the arena when his heart has been torn away.

V. Some other perils come in the wake of the preceding. Let us attend to only one of them. There is danger of a loss of faith in the Bible. The Old Testament is one lengthened delineation of the law, of the penalty following disobedience, of the justice inflicting the penalty, of the sacrifices

for obtaining pardon. Unless the great truths lying in and under these topics be vindicated and emphasized in the pulpit, the writings of Moses and the prophets will be regarded as extravagant; and it will be said that the Most High allowed these extravagancies to be introduced, but did not approve of them. The New Testament is written in the spirit of the Old, and in some relations is more severe than the Old; and unless the pulpit be robust in defending the truths revealed by the apostles, these truths will be rejected whenever the higher consciousness of men may chance to decide against them. Already one class of laymen are beginning to say that the New Testament is true, but the Old Testament is largely false; a second class are preparing to say that the words of Christ are true, but the words of the apostles are false here and there; a third class are preparing to say that the words actually uttered by Christ are true, but he never uttered some of the words which the Evangelists have ascribed to him; a fourth class are ready to say that Christ himself was mistaken, and if he had known as much as the German and Dutch critics know, he would never have uttered what he did utter. Is all this the effect of rationalism and neology? We may pacify our consciences with this plea; but it is our momentous duty to inquire whether we ourselves have not failed to illustrate and prove and enforce those great truths of law, justice, demerit, atonement, which make the Bible appear self-consistent and self-luminous, — not only shining in its own light, but in such a light as attracts the wandering eye, invigorates the feeble eye, heals the disordered eye, enlivens the eye which cannot see, and rectifies the eye which will not see.

Truly yours,

EDWARDS A. PARK.

II.

From the Rev. John Hall, D.D.

INVITED to state concisely what the Christian Church needs to hold fast, and to hold forth, in the present day, I venture to indicate the following:—

(a) *The Scriptures, the rule of faith*; as distinguished from the Church, the Fathers, the councils, the traditions, or the so-called “Christian consciousness.” The place of the Divine Spirit in inspiring and in interpreting them is a part of this theme.

(b) *The Scriptural idea of God* as just, holy, and good; as distinguished from the popular pictures of him as mere infinite good-nature. The nature of sin will thus appear. Grace will be understood; and it will come to men’s penitent hearts, that God was under no obligation to give sinners a first, not to say a second, probation.

(c) *The Bible view of Christ’s atonement*, more than illumination, more than correcting mistakes, more than drawing by example; and including the actual dying sacrifice for sins, of the Divine-human Saviour, who had a right to give his life for such an end.

(d) *The Bible idea of the Ministry*; as against the Papal idea, as against ritualism, sacerdotalism, and, on the other side (which is, in part, a re-action against the foregoing), against all that would convert the body of Christ's disciples into a voluntary speculative society.

(e) *The place of the Old Testament*; not obsolete, but part of one whole revelation. Neglect of it, shaping as it does New Testament language and institutions, prepares for crude and erroneous ideas of Christianity.

(f) *The Scriptural idea of the Church*; bound to do aggressive work for Christ among men, in His spirit; aggressive as light is, as salt is, as is the fragrance of a rose. This will imply regulated Christian activity in God's household, orderly service in the army of the Lord; regiments indeed being distinguishable, but under the one Leader and Commander.

(g) *The Protestantism made necessary by the corruption of Christendom*. We are Protestants, "for cause," against a corporation which adapts religion to the corrupt nature of men, and which puts forth "another gospel, which is not another," for the elements of the gospel are eliminated, or buried under perpetuated Pagan or perverted Jewish rites. Many do not know why we are Protestants, and so they become unconscious instruments of a power which is seeking to secure in the New World what it is losing — largely to re-active infidelity, for which it is responsible — in the Old.

JOHN HALL,

Minister Fifth-avenue Presbyterian Church, New York.

III.

From Miss Frances E. Willard, Evanston, Ill.

EN ROUTE, IRON MOUNTAIN TO ESCANABA, NORTHERN PENINSULA OF MICHIGAN; CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITORY AMENDMENT CAMPAIGN,

March 19, 1887.

REVS. DR. GORDON AND JOSEPH COOK.

Honored Friends, — The answer to your question for 1887, "What are the chief current religious perils?" will be written, for the most part, by scholarly men, in the quiet of their libraries. But a modern temperance reformer must write, if at all, from the thick of the fight, sending a staccato message, a sort of "drum-taps," such as the regiment might march to if on the double-quick. What has this rushing, roaring train, going through a pine swamp in Northern Michigan, to do with "the current religious perils of the time"? Much, every way. It is the express image of that unrest, that whirl and tumult, to which the Christian life must be, but is not yet, adjusted. For civilization is going at a gallop, and he who calls a halt will be as little regarded as though he called it at Niagara's roaring rim. Invention has just begun to show its mettle; and the race it is yet to lead us will shame Tam O'Shanter's, John Gilpin's, and Sheridan's ride, were they all compacted

into one. Man is set for the annihilation of time and space, and has just fairly got about his business. The clanging mill of the gods, that ground so slowly, begins to whirl as though the witches managed it. We feel bewildered often by the motion of the time; yet it is of the stage-coach order, compared with what shall be. What wonder that an age which has blotted out eleven of every twelve miles time between America and England; which can put a belt around the earth in ninety days, repeat the human voice two thousand miles away, and scatter printed pages like flakes of storm-tossed snow; an age that

"Deepens now a grave,
Where every king and every slave
Shall drop in crown and chain,
Till only *man* remain,"—

should fancy itself reckless, and threaten that it will make shipwreck of faith? This is, to my thinking, our chief current religious peril, — that we may not with large-eyed wisdom, and keen-sighted rapidity of movement, catch the swift swing of the age; "keep step" with it; teach it that this "recklessness" is only fancied, the momentary dizziness that comes from springing off the slow and solid ground, upon the "lightning express;" this "shipwreck of faith" impossible, since, like the needle to the pole, man's inmost spirit must evermore "return to God who gave it," both in this life, and that which is to come. I like Max Müller's definition of religion: "It is that faculty which, independent of, nay, in spite of, sense and reason, enables man to apprehend the Infinite under different names, and under varying disguises." — MAX MÜLLER: *Lectures on the Science of Religion*, p. 17.

Now, what the age needs is "old truths in a new dress," the adaptation of our blessed Christian faith to the infinitely varied conditions of modern thought and modern civilization. It grieves me to see the outer court of the Gentiles, called "philanthropy," reflecting the shekinah's light more brightly sometimes than the faces of the high priests at the temple's very altar. As a loyal member of the Church, it smites me like a blow, when the "world's people" go beyond our ecclesiastical leaders in those current issues of reform by which the Christ-life and the world-life evermore tend to become one and the same. I clearly recognize, that this discrepancy results rather from the mental difficulty of reconciling abstract with concrete than from any proposed discounting of reform on the part of theologians. But I rejoice that in the Boston Monday Lectureship we have a perpetual and splendid object lesson, to prove that the subtleties of a religious theory may be so adjusted to the exigent demands of daily practice in this transition age, as to yoke theology and reform to the plough of Christ's gospel, and make them pace off evenly. I thank God that such embodiments of that Christian faith which is evermore saying "*Behold, I make all things new*," as the temperance reform, the political reform, the woman question, are being to-day treated in the city which is America's Mecca of thought and culture, with a fairness and sympathy that are doing not a little to illustrate the true way out of the "chief current religious peril of our time." God speed all such work, and spare such workmen, is my daily prayer.

FRANCES E. WILLARD.

IV.

From the Rev. Professor Herrick Johnson, D.D., Chicago.

McCORMICK THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, CHICAGO, March 26.

MR. JOSEPH COOK.

My dear Brother, — You ask me to answer briefly the question: "What are the chief current religious perils?"

I unhesitatingly answer, The *chief* current religious peril is the *material prosperity of the Church of God*.

1. The Church is rich, and growing richer. She has gathered vast stores of "the loaves and fishes" of this material life. The millionaires appear among the sons of God. "Purple and fine linen," rather than "raiment of camel's hair and a leathern girdle," are the apparel of the elect. The accumulation of wealth within the Church, and subject to the Church, is simply enormous. Millions upon millions could be laid this day at the feet of Christ by the disciples of Christ, without calling a halt on a single business enterprise, or stopping one wheel in the mighty whirl of wealth-making industries.

2. Self-indulgence is begotten of this increase of gain. If luxury can be commanded, luxury is likely to be had. Men will not walk a rough road, if wealth can velvet it.

3. Self-indulgence eats out the spirit of self-denial.

4. Self-denial is the heart of Calvary; the innermost meaning of Christ's cross. Though he was rich, yet for our sakes he became poor.

5. With the atonement obscured to spiritual vision, and emptied of its deepest sense, so that its great passion of love in sacrifice stirs to no sacrifice for love's sake, other doctrines begin to lose their bold distinctness. Men chip and hammer at the sharp outlines of the sterner truths. Smooth paths demand smooth prophecies. A *new theodicy* must sing its lullaby to a self-indulgent Church, saying, "I am rich, and have gotten riches, and have need of nothing."

A worldly, prosperous Church is thus in imminent peril of being struck through with *worldly-mindedness*; that subtle, deceitful, stealthy, secret, abominable, prolific, Laodicean sin, perverting and poisoning spirituality, — a service of mammon rather than of Christ; a friendship of the world, which, God says, means enmity with Him. "If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him."

The Church has never yet, in all the Christian ages, withstood this peril from material prosperity. She has withstood peril from hunger, and "grown fat with wants and desertions." She has withstood peril from Neronian wild beasts, and the blood of her martyrs has been her fruitful seed. She has withstood peril from challenging and mocking unbelief, and come out of every such conflict knowing better than ever whom and why she believes. She has withstood peril from false doctrine, and, repudiating the spurious admixture, has flung her faith with a clearer articulation and emphasis to the sight of men.

But it is yet to be seen whether the Church can get rich and keep her riches, AND KEEP HER LORD. Thus far in history, she has gone down before this peril. She is face to face with the peril to-day. It is instant, imminent, chief of all.

See her millions of treasure, lying idle in their vast bulk, while a Lazarus heathen world lies at her gate full of sores, and even the crumbs already thrown to him not paid for yet!

See the little *five-and-a-half-million brick*, forming the top of the pyramid of our national expenditure, marking the total annual outlay for Home and Foreign Missions; and contrast it with the *nine-hundred-million mammoth rock* forming the base of the pyramid, marking the total annual outlay for liquor!

See the separating and eternal Scriptural difference between the children of the world and the children of light narrowing itself more and more, until the distinction is well-nigh obliterated, and the rebuke of "worldly conformity" is almost a forgotten sound in the bosom of the Church.

The Church is rich, and growing richer. Out of riches come luxurious couches and cushioned duties, — a smoothing of the path of Christian profession, a softening of the edges of rugged doctrine, ending at last in spiritual enervation, demoralization, and defeat; until, torn and rent and bleeding, and in felt "want of all things," she is shut up to her Lord again, and is rich only in him, filled and thrilled with the vitalities of His divine life.

History shows no exception to the sad succession. Is the Church of God to take that road again? Surely it is the chief peril confronting her to-day.

HERRICK JOHNSON.

V.

From the Rev. Josiah Strong, D.D., New York.

NEW YORK, March 24, 1887.

JOSEPH COOK.

Dear Sir, — You do me the honor to ask what, in my opinion, are the "chief current religious perils; or, in what particulars modern Christianity fails to follow Christ."

The vices of an age lie close to its virtues. If we know a man's strength, we know the direction in which to look for his weakness. The peculiar beauty or excellence of any type of piety is intimately connected with its defects. If, then, we can fix on the most characteristic virtue of the religion of this generation, we ought to be at little loss to determine what is its weakness, its greatest peril.

The world's heart is growing more tender. Man's inhumanity to man is being softened. Slavery disappearing, war less inhuman, criminal codes less severe, benevolent institutions of every name multiplying, a thousand reforms in progress, famine-stricken districts fed, sufferers from flood and fire and

earthquake relieved,—all these manifest such sympathy for human need, such good-will to men, as has never prevailed in any age previous. There is taking place a refinement of the nervous organization, accompanied by an increasing sensibility, which is the most beautiful as it is one of the most marked characteristics of the age.

The beauty of Christ's character has been seen and felt by this generation as by no other, and probably God's love has been preached as never before. But, because every man is only a fraction of a man, it is difficult to appreciate a truth without depreciating its complement. Thus in pulpit ministrations the preaching of the divine law and its sanctions has been largely excluded; and *the conscience of this generation is, therefore, weak and uneducated*. In evidence, witness the character of conversions now. Rarely do we see profound conviction of sin, such as was common under the preaching of Nettleton and Kirk and Finney.

Men rarely combine strength and beauty. Are we not making a sacrifice of the former to the latter, producing character which is beautiful, but boneless? Guizot's characterization of the eighteenth century, in a letter to his mother, is not inapplicable to the nineteenth: "This age would give to virtue a perpetual smile, and take away all its force. The eighteenth century was so amiable that it had ceased to be virtuous; the people were so polite that they were no longer sincere; the women were so courted that they were no longer loved. . . . I cannot help being angry when I see all the efforts made for taking away from virtue all its thorns."

The popular demand to-day is for a religion destitute of deep convictions and of stern duties, a religion of mere sentiment, one which shall never make the ears tingle with rebuke, but speak only loving words concerning love. The popular God to-day is a sentimental God.

Some perhaps would call the spread of latitudinarian doctrines, the increase of Sabbath desecration, and conformity to the world, the chief current religious perils; but these are the symptoms of the disease, rather than the disease itself. Unless my diagnosis of the case is mistaken, the real difficulty, the chief peril, lies in an enfeebled conscience. There is now popular protest against every doctrine called "hard;" so called, not because unreasonable or unscriptural, but because unpalatable. Doubtless the causes of popular unbelief are complex, but chief among them is a lack of moral earnestness. Tone up the popular conscience, and you will tone up the popular theology.

Our habits, like our creeds, have relaxed much of their strictness. The changes which have taken place are in the direction of inclination. In sabbath observance, in the marriage relation, in the observance of law, the tendency is from strictness to looseness. We are in danger of exalting feeling or inclination above conscience.

With rapidly increasing wealth our civilization is becoming ever more luxurious. The world never had so many philanthropists as now, never so many munificent givers; but princely givers are generally princely spenders. Christ's conception of the cross seems rare. It has come to mean trials, which must be accepted in a Christian spirit, but which are incidental and occasional only. The cross as the very essence of Christianity, the daily crucifixion taught and exemplified by Christ and his apostles, seems almost

to be lost out of the Church. The debilitated conscience does not crucify. Men would follow Christ, but not to Golgotha.

Yours truly,

JOSIAH STRONG.

VI.

From the Right Rev. F. D. Huntington, S.T.D., Syracuse, N.Y.

INQUIRING "in what particulars modern Christianity fails to follow Christ," we are directed to the great original. "Current religious perils" are comparative perils. We might compare them with the perils or the shortcomings of other post-apostolic periods down to this time, in which case we should be sure to form or encounter conflicting judgments varying with doctrinal or ecclesiastical or social opinions. One of the most difficult of all familiar problems is that of the real rate of human progress. There is no summing-up of the gain and loss at the end of epochs. We must take for a standard the Christianity of Christ, — Christ crucified, and preached by the apostles.

I. The Personal Headship. In the earliest Christian literature and preaching, it is beyond dispute that Jesus Christ as the only Saviour of men, and Head over all things to his Church, historically verified, and yet universally present, communioned with, loved and worshipped, was inseparable from Christianity. Christianity is not a New Testament word or a gospel word. The religion is not an ideal, a system, a proposition, or a directory. Except by a limited class denying Christ's divinity in every sense, his personal supremacy is not now so discredited as to form a very conspicuous religious peril. Even in quarters where theological orthodoxy is for the most part disrelished or dogmatically discarded, the Son of man is yet recognized as the moral master of the race, the high-water mark of humanity thus far, and in some rather vague acceptance as a divine man. Indeed, this general admission of His leadership, with the fascinating interest attached to it, is largely regarded as the most hopeful rallying-point for a future unity in a now distracted Christendom. There is, however, a weakness in the Christology of a class of writers in this country and abroad, which amounts to a threatening defection from the primitive faith. Exalted still as a moral leader, Jesus is denied the distinctive claim of absolute divinity. Pre-eminent as a seer and teacher, he is not adored as God. Hence both the authority of omniscience, and the solitary glory of an actual atonement, are taken away. The dry ancient Arianism re-appears in the more attractive guise of an exceptional spiritual genius. Where a convinced sceptic exclaimed "My Lord and my God," admiring critics pay their tribute of eulogy and perhaps of affection to a lofty manliness held strictly within human limits. It is not necessary to point out how radically such a theory of the person in whom the Gospel is embodied, and in whose cross the salva-

tion of the world is wrought out, impairs the power of the gospel and the cross both. Failing to supply by an ethical substitute what an estranged and broken humanity requires, viz., a reconciliation between man and God, created by a Redeemer who shares in perfect oneness the nature of each, it leaves the problem of redemption unsolved, man unsaved, every department and interest of Christian theology unsettled, and so practical religion sooner or later enfeebled at its heart.

II. Not far from this is, secondly, a decay of faith in the world of spiritual realities which revelation uncovers. Waiving the question raised by the term "supernatural," as to what is natural and what is not, — within the entire compass of God's action, — we refer to an actual distinction between any form of life or action in the universe that is of man or below man, on the one hand, and that which is consciously produced beyond the range of his ability or comprehension on the other. That a reluctance to believe in these superhuman facts characterizes considerably the mental habit of our day, is generally allowed. Among its causes is doubtless the scientific activity which pushes back the line of demarcation between the known and the unknown, and so fosters a really unscientific notion that there is either no unknowable at all, or else that the unknown is not God or Spirit. There may be other causes. The result is an idea that the ascending scale of orderly life stops short at the human brain. In such an abraded creation, reverence is stifled. Instead of looking up for help, forgiveness, and light, men are looking out and around and beneath them, and lifting at their own feet. There is no conscious force or quickening grace or deliverance coming down from on high. The New Testament declarations, then, are not true. Faith dies for want of an object. Wonder ceases, and with it worship. Prayer is an impossibility with consistent minds, or an illusion with the sentimental. Angels vanish with a vanishing heaven, and from the light of the soul as well as from the eyes of flesh. Evangelizing is only civilizing. Salvation is only education. The future of mankind is to be judged only by the human past; there are no sanctions for righteousness, no motives to well-doing, no penalties for wrong, oppression, cruelty, lust, robbery, murder, any crime or any sin, whether in the present life or in a dim life of conjecture after this. Society is stripped of a divine glory. The world is bereaved of a communion with saints departed, and all the heavenly company. There is no "one family in heaven and earth." Logically there can be no Bible, Church, sacraments, anthem, creed. This seems to be one of the "perils."

III. Closely joined with this is a peril of lawlessness, following a gradual abatement of belief in the supreme sanction of all law and source of order, in the will of an Infinite and perfect Creator. Having lost sight of the true "solidarity" of the race in the first Adam, and the living gift of regeneration in the second, the individual does what is right in his own eyes. Man is a personal autonomy, and readily becomes an antinomian. An assertion of his own rights crowds aside obedience to the commandments, and a concern for the rights of other men. Government is a social contract. Communism is a half-organized selfishness. Defiance of authority is popular. Sympathy goes out to men or women arrested or punished. In institutions

of every sort, there is impatience at control. A mistaken philanthropy chafes at judgment or retribution here or hereafter. The inhumanities and tyrannies of prerogative and hereditary privilege are exchanged for the inhumanity and tyranny of anarchy. While science is discovering and exploring laws of matter, and paying them due honor, ungoverned self-will scoffs at the laws of character, of spirit, of the kingdom of God on the earth. I speak of tendencies and of "perils."

IV. The peril of secularism is not peculiar to any one period, but it is now fearfully aggravated by unprecedented material opportunities. A subjugated and subdued earth yields earthly satisfaction and pleasure. Enterprise and invention, machinery and combination, opened continents, sources of wealth innumerable and immense, minister to every species of sensual indulgence. What were once luxuries are accounted necessities. Not only in a wealthy class, but in every class, a larger and larger proportion of thought, time, ambition, labor, is given to the outside of life. Waking hours are divided between sordid business and eager amusement. The deteriorations already ventured prepare the way for loose living, lax doctrine for lax practice. The terrible trinity of evil, "the world, the flesh, and the devil," takes hold when the holy Trinity of light and love and peace, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is disowned.

The terms of the question proposed do not provide for a presentation of other and better aspects of "Modern Christianity."

VII.

From Bishop W. R. Nicholson, D.D.

WHAT are the chief current religious perils? They are, I believe, as follows:—

I. Superficial views of the work of Christ as the Saviour. The tendency in many quarters is to give exclusive attention to the life and character of the Christ, and to His supreme influence as a factor in the history of civilization. Meanwhile ignored, or at least slighted, is the truth of His substitutionary atonement,—that He "gave His life a ransom for us," "gave His flesh for the life of the world," "shed His blood for the remission of sins;" and that thus it is He "saves the lost." Undisputedly manifest, indeed, are His peerless character and His mightiness in history; and simply this, His unique powerful personality, is a moral demonstration of the truth of Christianity. Yet even these lofty conceptions are no more than the outside, the mere shell, of the essential identity of the Christ. He came that, by means of His expiation of sins, whosoever believeth on Him should not perish, but have everlasting life. Just here is the core, the heart, of the Christ. If we think of Him as the most perfect personal character, at once the sublimest and the loveliest, that has ever inflamed the world's admiration, we do Him but justice; but admiration of the Christ is not salvation in

the Christ. If we speak of Him as the grandest moral force the world has ever had in it, — as having done more than all other agencies combined to shape and regulate the interests of property, to diminish unnatural vices, to enforce purity, to put an end to the exposure of children, to check licentious and cruel sports, to found charities, to restrain torture, to promote kindness, to modify legislation and make it humane, to mitigate and undermine slavery, to elevate woman and sanctify marriage, — we speak the truth; but the refinements of civilization are not the soul's restoration to God. More, more, more than all this He is: even a refuge, a hiding-place, from God's righteous wrath against sin; the one asylum provided for us by the amazing mercy of the righteous God Himself. To ignore, then, this truth of the Saviour's expiation of sins for whomsoever will believe on Him, is practically to deny Christianity, however else we may gloriously think of the Christ; even as the prismatic bubble on the face of the waters has no connection with the hidden treasures of the deep.

II. The putting of a sentimental benevolence above the word of God; as, for instance, the now-spreading doctrine of probation after death. It is noticeable, that, among the advocates of this heresy, are such men as persist in receiving the pecuniary proceeds of their official positions in the Church, in spite of the fact that those positions were secured to them on the supposition of their standing for the opposite belief. That they are able to maintain themselves in this official falsehood, indicates an extensive predisposition in the community to sympathize with them in their teaching. In condemnation of their teaching the word of God is express, and at the same time equally express in setting forth the incomparable benevolence of God toward mankind, and that the Judge of the whole earth doeth right. But all this to the contrary notwithstanding, the vaulting wilfulness of a mere sentiment sits self-enthroned above the word of God. And this heresy of repentance after death is just an entering wedge. It is making ready for re-invigorating the question whether there be future punishment at all. Nor is this the only form of the sentimental madness of a superficial benevolence; but, however formulated, it is never content that "the foolishness of God" shall be thought wiser than men. It points the way to all inadequate views of sin. It leads on to an utter depreciation, an emasculation, of the sacrificial sufferings of the Christ.

III. The depending on present instrumentalities of the Church for converting the world. The Lord Jesus said, "When the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?" "As the days of Noe were, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be." "Then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven; and *then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn*, and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory." So distinctly did he teach that the world is not to be converted before his coming. But when he shall have come, — he, "the nobleman who has gone into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom, and to return," — then shall be "the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of His glory;" then shall His kingdom have come, and the will of God be done on earth as it is done in heaven. And so the apostles uniformly teach. Now, to disregard this teaching, to think and act

as though present instrumentalities had been ordained for the complete subjugation of evil, is to reverse the dictum of the Master, and is as if one should set himself to bend out of its course the law of gravitation. It commits the Church to a worldly policy, manacles her limbs with the spirit and methods that are "of the earth earthy," fills the Church with "foolish virgins," lays to sleep the "wise virgins," dishonors the truth of God, diminishes the blessing of the Spirit, reduces the Church's efforts to the minimum of spiritual effectiveness. The Christians of the apostles' days should be our example. Personally consecrated they were, and also active, zealous propagandists of the gospel; meanwhile they "waited for the Son of God from heaven." Thus their work was on the very line of the Saviour's teaching. While fighting manfully the evil of the world, they fought effectively, for they were fighting under the whole motive-power of the gospel. They overcame the world, and their "gospel came unto men in power and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance."

These, I think, are the chief current religious perils; the main particulars wherein modern Christianity fails to follow Christ. These are the seed-bearing elements of the present inefficiency of the Church. Uproot them, and the now plentiful crop of errors and evil living would greatly disappear from the Church, and a mighty propulsion be given to the cause of Lord's-Day observance, to the grand temperance movement, and to all other Christian reforms. Oh that professing Christians would open their eyes, and see!

WM. R. NICHOLSON,

Bishop of the Reformed Episcopal Church.

VIII.

From the Right Rev. B. H. Paddock, D.D., Boston.

BOSTON, March 25, 1887.

I RESPECTFULLY answer the question, "*What, in your opinion, are the chief current religious perils?*" as follows.

Yours sincerely,

BENJ. H. PADDOCK.

1. An undue exaltation of the authority of human consciousness; so that the variable quantity and quality in its testimony is ignored, its province as a judge of truth in doctrine and morals is unlawfully enlarged, and not infrequently its majority vote is held to neutralize or even destroy the plainest and most abundant statements of God's Holy Word.

2. The undue honor and power now conceded to individualism, by which concession a subordinate principle is made supreme in religion, in ethics, and in the conduct of life; and thus reverence for law, for authority human or divine, and for institutions, is marred or destroyed, family and social bonds

are dissolved, absolute truth denied a being, and "the unity of the faith" made impossible as well as valueless.

3. The too general indifference in the churches to "a sound rule of faith" and "a sober standard of feeling." A creedless church is but an emasculated witness and keeper of the truth; and if the church know not or care not to "contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints," the world will put forth its hard creeds, and religion will become a graceful but flabby sentiment.

Religious feeling also may be in a paralysis or in a convulsion, both of which are perils. It may easily be fanned from holy warmth to a consuming fire, exhausting the spiritual powers, and leaving the soul a hearth-stone for dead ashes. Or, still further, if there be over-much of form and ritual, the feeling may expend itself in externalism; and the man, glowing from the exercise required by the machinery of work and worship, benevolence and piety, may mistake his natural warmth for the life hid with Christ in God.

4. The divisions of Christendom are religious perils dulling our consciences, scandalizing inquirers, wasteful of spiritual power and confusing counsel both in Christian and in heathen lands, helping a corrupt but undivided church, and making unholy glee for the enemies of Christ's religion. This peril is not to be averted by multiplication of, or ingenious apology for, our unhappy divisions; but by the churches' honest recognition of the error, refusal to contend longer over matters of mere taste and feeling, charitable allowance of various modes and aids of worship, reduction of the *credenda* to the all-sufficient simplicity of the earliest creeds of Christendom, and by the prayerful joint study of such a basis of organic unity as the New Testament Scriptures and the history of the pure, undivided, and all-conquering church of the earliest ages may afford us.

5. The lamentable divorce between religion and benevolence, or practical sympathy for man in his daily work, wants, and difficulties; so that human societies have been the accredited agents for going about and doing good, and the society of divine original has only cared for souls. This is a cheap copy of the gospel, and fails of acceptance. Thank God, this peril is departing.

IX.

From the Right Rev. William Croswell Doane, S.T.D., LL.D.

BISHOP'S HOUSE, ALBANY, N.Y.,
March 23, 1887.

My dear Sir, — I have only two days, both already crowded with inevitable work, in which to answer the large and leading questions which you ask. But I do not like to hold myself back from any service that I can do in these days of doubt and distraction, to warn or counsel any soul.

Your question is in two phases; and I answer that, in my opinion, "the chief current religious perils" of this country are:—

Firstly, Materialism developing itself in the absorbing effort to acquire fortunes for the sake of luxury and laziness, and equally, it seems to me, in the degradation and distortion of the intellect to purely earthly, temporal, and physical interests.

Secondly, Worldliness in the Church, which has gradually wiped out the old lines of distinction between those who do and those who do not "profess and call themselves Christians;" so that only exceptionally, on a "communion Sunday," or in Lent, can anybody tell the difference between the child of God and the godless man.

Thirdly, The loose hold upon definite dogma, which has reduced the Christian conscience, in a very large degree, to the consistency or inconsistency of unleavened dough, utterly unable to rise to any height of real life, and offering itself to be moulded into any shape that may suit the hand that touches it. The readiness of most men to change their religious convictions, bartering principles for the worse than "pottage mess" of popularity, under the name of liberal Christianity, is the chief evidence of this.

Fourthly, The unhappy divisions of Christendom, because of which, instead of presenting a common front against the Devil in his various assaults, we are contending each with the other, in a rivalry that really seems more concerned to convert a man from one Christian body into another, and sometimes from one to another congregation of the same Christian body, than to capture souls for Christ from sin.

And, lastly, The growing relaxation, among intelligent and influential people, of the old hold upon the two primeval institutions of Paradise,—the keeping holy of the one day in seven, and purity and faithfulness in the married estate.

Answering the question, "In what particulars does modern Christianity fail to follow Christ?" I should say that it failed to follow him in the only way in which he can be followed,—by each man taking up his particular and personal cross; which means, among other things, that, in order to follow Christ, men must love truth, do their duty, and serve God, cost what it will of self-denial and of sacrifice; while, at the same time, that cross must be realized and upheld as the symbol, not only of heroic suffering, but of unquenchable love, so that however bravely we may believe, however bitterly we may denounce sin, however positively we may disagree, however fearlessly we may defy popular opinion, we shall do all things in love.

WM. CROSWELL DOANE.

X.

From the Rev. Thomas Hill, D.D., ex-President of Harvard University.

PORTLAND, ME., March 21, 1887.

My dear Mr. Cook,—In your favor of the 15th inst., you ask what, in my opinion, are the chief current religious perils; or, in what particulars does modern Christianity fail to follow Christ?

It is my opinion, that as Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever, so the perils of the soul are the same in these as in all preceding ages. The great danger in preacher and hearer is lack of faith; calling Jesus Lord, but not trusting his promises, nor obeying his word. The defect in man is primarily in his will, not in his intellect; it is not error, but sin. Of course we admit that Christ is our teacher, and that in him are hidden treasures of knowledge. But his great office is to save the sinner, to give life; and the agency which he requires on our part is not belief, but faith,—childlike, trusting confidence. This faith is produced by direct contact with him. Whoever really comes with Mary to the place where Jesus is, falls like Mary at his feet. It is his personal character which has power over us, even more than his words. By the contagion of a divine sympathy with him, we are led to obey our own highest ethical and religious instincts, instead of speculating on them; to live a Christlike life, instead of talking about it.

The great peril is discovered when we see the great need; which is, personal love for the Redeemer,—a love kindled by the pictures given in the Evangelists, and fed by personal experience of his healing power. The early history of Christianity shows that it was the setting forth of the person of Jesus which overcame the world, and conquered the nations. The most potent spring of action is always personal love. It is love toward the great and good, which gives the separate denominations their peculiar strength; and wherever there is earnest life, in the Christian Church, the cause lies in the love of Christ, which constrains men to Christlike lives to-day, as in the days of Paul. All theological questions become of no importance in comparison with the question of personal fidelity in love toward Christ. Persons are the real centres of being. Jesus is, next to God, the person of highest worth known to us; the express image of God's own person. Holiness is the love of all being in proportion to its worth; holiness, therefore, postulates a love of Christ above all earthly love. The universe flows from the infinite personality of God, and is sustained for the benefit of persons, whom he would bind in a bond of love, stronger in proportion as it binds us to higher beings, until it unites us with Him in whom was revealed the highest image of God, and fulfils for us the saying of St. John, "He that abideth in love abideth in God, and God abideth in him."

Yours ever truly,

THOMAS HILL.

XI.

From the Rev. Cyrus A. Bartol, D.D.

BOSTON, March 16, 1887.

TO REV. JOSEPH COOK AND REV. A. J. GORDON.

As to religious perils in the main, let me note these:—

1. Materialism: the extension of the doctrine of evolution beyond animal structure and organism, to swamp spirit and overwhelm the soul.

2. The pessimism which shows its head when the atheistic understanding rules out the proof of conscience and heart, installs selfishness in place of living sacrifice, usurps the throne of the mind, and makes the play not worth the candle of life, creating from a low experience a hopeless creed.

3. The substitution of dogma for inspiration and interior perception; and for living devotion, stereotyped form.

4. All expulsion by Christians, who are sectarian and uncharitable, of Christ from Christianity.

C. A. BARTOL.

XII.

From the Rev. S. C. Bartlett, D.D., President of Dartmouth College.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, March 24, 1887.

My dear Sir,—You ask me, “What, in your opinion, are the chief current religious perils?” I answer:—

The Christian religion is now encountering many forms of opposition from without, differing from those of former days, but perhaps not essentially more or less formidable than they. Its chief perils, in my judgment, come from within the nominal Church; and they may be summed up in one central danger,—namely, a growing tendency to substitute a man-made scheme for the God-given religion.

In its nearer or remoter results, this tendency shows itself in disparaging, on various pretexts, the authority of God’s Word and its utterances, not always sparing the declarations of the apostles, and of Christ himself; in ruling out important traits from God’s revealed character, and failing to recognize his agency in providence or in grace; in questioning or doubting the actual power of prayer; in dealing lightly with sin, its desert, and retribution; in undervaluing the nature and significance of regeneration, the spirituality of piety, and the purity of the church; in advocating low standards of admission to the church, and ceasing to maintain its scriptural watch and discipline; in magnifying charity above truth, and extending the bounds of fellowship beyond “the unity of the Spirit” and the identity of the faith. It is, in short, a tendency to adulterate religion by the substitution of a pure naturalism for supernaturalism, and speculation for

Revelation. It is dangerous as only a tendency; and were it to become a predominancy in the churches, it would undoubtedly occasion another Reformation, Puritanism or Methodism.

Yours very truly,

S. C. BARTLETT.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.

XIII.

From the Rev. Professor G. F. Magoun, D.D., ex-President of Iowa College.

My dear Mr. Cook, — The questions proposed for the present symposium are very large ones. Who could tell all the particulars in which modern Christianity practically fails to follow Christ? Even to generalize them, is a larger task than I care to undertake. The second form of the topic, therefore, assists me only in limiting the first form of it.

The term "current," prefixed to "religious perils," limits it more; and the word "chief," still more. Taking the two questions together, then, by mutual qualification, I can venture to say something of great dangers that just now flow from the failure of our Christianity to follow the conceptions and aims of our Lord. A good many special outstanding points are covered by your own Preludes, such as that on "Creed and Deed among Church Members," and need no mention.

1. A peril of which I notice no diminution arises from cowardice among Christians as to applying true Christianity, as a peerless advance on pure natural ethics, to public or general abuses. The never blenching, flawless courage of our Master, in the face of common social wrongs, does not seem to be even conceived of by many who represent Him.

2. Imperfect views of moral character and purpose in God. "A soft religion" leaves out more than half of what makes Him the "holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty," and can never realize the immorality of justifying, or treating with moral indifference, "a soul that persists in sin." That God can do nothing, plan nothing, permit nothing, beneath his own personal character, by no means dominates the views multitudes allow in their practical religion.

3. Inadequate conceptions of His end in creation, providence, and the government of free beings, as purely as well as supremely moral. Men who demand that the Scriptures shall everywhere bear the impress of so lofty and divine an ultimate end, in order to their accepting them as inspired, singularly fall off from an unswerving devotion to that ideal, when individual action is to be judged by it.

4. A tendency in churches of every name, not diminishing on the whole, increasing often somewhere, to forego the highest spiritual culture and attainment, provided "things are pleasant." This betrays the fact wherever observed, especially where it is broadly visible, that other objects than spirit-

ual ones are supreme, by common consent. For the pleasant things, that take the place of the highest spiritual culture and attainment, are such to something else, in men and in churches, than that which is ethico-spiritual, or Christian.

5. Lack of enthusiasm, among those regarded as religious leaders, in winning others from the world to a consecrated and crucified life. To whatever else men are won, even by nominal evangelism, it is done at great peril and moral cost. The most refined and apparently blameless selfishness, in sanctified guise, as well as such gross forms of it as sectarianism and formalism, defeat Christ. They who, in compassing sea and land for one proselyte, make him twofold more a son of Gehenna than themselves, cannot be even ostensibly winning men to our Lord, who so characterized them; but they who set up any "objective point" of conversion-work below the life that denies self and takes up its own cross, defraud Him and His kingdom. To abandon the righteousness and true holiness which the new dispensation has more successfully produced than the old, as an ideal too high and too hard, is to jeopardize the work itself.

6. A pseudo-evangelism, — not yet perhaps distinctly seen on the field, but readily invading it, — which omits either half of that twofold salvation proclaimed by Christ, from the moral law and to it, from its penalty and to its precept, or neutralizes it by nominally sinking it in the other half. Christ's sacrifice secures the one part, the Spirit's agency the other; but each is thwarted if the other's work loses its place. To leave out, for example, the ethico-spiritual element in "accepting Christ" as a Saviour; to come to him as if the getting a great and everlasting boon were all; to assume that absolute rectitude is chosen in choosing him, when it is not so much as thought of; to imagine that a merely personal pleasing and being pleased satisfies the great King who once asked: "Why, even of yourselves, judge ye not what is right?" — this, if not itself a pseudo-evangelism, is its sure forerunner. "Unto the Son He saith, . . . The sceptre of uprightness is the sceptre of thy kingdom. Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity; therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows." Easily may this pseudo-evangelism, offering but half a salvation, silencing the glad tidings that appeal to moral aspiration, or drowning them in the shout of those that appeal to the craving for happiness, spoil Christian experience, and leave whole churches and communities swept by religious excitement, ethically weak, after all. Easily may it set up personal relations that hide moral ones, as decisive of character and destiny in the great day.

A pseudo-ethical religion, so-called, which omits a personal God, prayer, sin, atonement, conversion, and of necessity all *Christian* character and experience, is the opposite error to this, and creates the opposite danger. I see nothing specially threatening in it. Men are too prone to all manner of evil to be overmuch moralized. They have always found it weary work to strive to be justified by the deeds of the law. A genuine devotee of perfection can be satisfied in Christ alone. The danger-point is not on that side, but on the opposite one. There is no Scripture caution against over aspiration in being right with God, but only one against sinning because grace abounds in the twofold work of Son and Spirit.

It hardly needs to be added, that in none of these waywardnesses does our modern Christianity follow Christ. A mere glance along the six foregoing heads will see that! The tap roots of these "chief current perils," as they present themselves to me, run far down into heredities of intellect, sensibility, and will. They are not now to be traced. But they lie very close to the perverse disposition to "worship and serve the creature more than the Creator." They lead to endless substitutions of the cravings of a human nature that never exhibits itself as unperverted in moral action, for the plain truth of God. They lead men to lean to their own understandings, and follow, even in receiving God's word, their own misguided hearts.

Yours ever,

GEO. F. MAGOUN.

IOWA COLLEGE, March 24, 1887.

XIV.

From President J. H. Fairchild, Oberlin College.

ONE of the perils of Christianity in our land and time unquestionably is, that, in the rapid growth and accumulation of worldly good, the true idea of the religion of Christ, as a life of self-denial and of service, will be lost sight of.

There is of course no danger that any large portion of the membership of the Church will be encumbered with wealth; but there is danger that the many conspicuous examples of sudden wealth will bewilder the minds of men, and beget an intensely secular and worldly spirit, utterly foreign to the spirit and life of the Master. It is not the rich, but those that *will be* rich, that "fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts."

We pray for peace and prosperity among the nations, and for these we must continue to pray; but with these we need more abundant grace and consecration, that we may not forget that "a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth." May it not be that the danger which now threatens our prosperity, in the demoralization of our industries, and the disintegration of organized labor, is not only the natural product of the prevalent secular spirit, but that it may also bring with it the antidote for the evil which threatens? Is there any other final solution of the labor problem than the general prevalence of the spirit of Him who "came not to be ministered unto but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many"?

JAS. H. FAIRCHILD.

XV.

From the Rev. Cyrus Hamlin, D.D., ex-President of Middlebury College.

HAMPTON INSTITUTE, HAMPTON, VA.,
March 21, 1887.

WHAT, in your opinion, are the chief current religious perils? or, in what particular does modern Christianity fail to follow Christ?

First, A general tendency to a rationalistic view of the Scriptures.

Second, and kindred to the above, The exaltation of the ethical judgment or the Christian consciousness above the Scriptures, so that a man shall choose out of the Bible what seems to him to be true. He thus becomes his own Bible.

Third, Denying eternal fixedness of character as the result of our probation in this life, and opening the eternal future as the real area of probation.

Fourth, Connected with a certain glowing presentation of the love of Christ, is the tendency to persistently ignore the most solemn truths taught by Him and His apostles, making Him and them all fallible in certain teachings.

Fifth, Within the Congregational denomination, the remorseless effort to force this system upon its whole field of missions to displace the purely Biblical teaching which God has signally blessed.

Sixth, Summarily, the fashion of importing our theological thinking from Germany. Whatever comes from thence is worthy of all acceptance — but of no importance whatever! This contradiction reigns.

XVI.

From President Julius H. Seelye, D.D.

AMHERST COLLEGE, AMHERST, MASS.,
March 16, 1887.

My dear Mr. Cook, — In reply to yours of yesterday, I beg to say that, "in my opinion, the chief current religious peril of the day" is the lack among religious teachers of deep and broad views of the Gospel; and one of "the chief particulars in which modern Christianity fails to follow Christ" is the readiness still found, to forbid, with John, the casting-out of devils in Christ's name, because of "following not with us."

Wishing ever the highest success for the *Monday Lectureship*, believe me,

Very truly yours,

JULIUS H. SEELYE.

XVII.

From the Rev. Professor G. N. Boardman, D.D., Chicago Theological Seminary.

REV. JOSEPH COOK.

Dear Sir,—In reply to the question, "What are the chief current religious perils?" I confine myself to those connected with doctrines; those of a more public, perhaps of a more threatening character, I leave to others.

One of the chief perils now besetting Christianity seems to me to rise from an inadequate view of inspiration. It has been held that the Scriptures are an authoritative rule of faith and practice because they are the word of God. A theory of inspiration has been received by our churches which makes it proper to say that the Holy Spirit is responsible for the teachings of the Bible. But it is now urged in some quarters that the Scripture writers were enlightened, as all the followers of Christ are enlightened, by gracious divine influences, and that beyond this they had no inspiration. It is represented that this is the only view which an intelligent man can entertain. In accordance with this theory, every Christian has the same inspiration for criticising the Scriptures which the various authors had for writing them. It is granted that the Evangelists, and perhaps some others, had peculiar advantages for their work, but that we are to receive their teachings only so far as their thoughts coincide with our Christian judgment. It is clear that such sentiments must greatly weaken an appeal to the Scriptures, and throw a haze of uncertainty over the entire scheme of Christian doctrine. Whoever adopts them, it seems to me, "fails to follow Christ." With Him a scripture statement ended all questioning: he never attempted to supplement the argument, "*It is written.*"

Another peril that may be noticed is one which rises from a vague estimate or low estimate of man's responsibility. It is indispensable to a continuous life of godliness, that one feel himself at each moment accountable to God. Doing good, loving mercy, walking humbly with God, hungering and thirsting after righteousness, are, according to the Bible representation, the very substance of religion. The covenant theology, whatever objection may be made to some of its items, has the merit of attributing a dignity to man and a corresponding amenability to law. But much of modern speculation involves a minimizing, if not an annihilation, of human responsibility.

The fatherhood of God—a favorite doctrine of late—is held and preached, not as if men were his intelligent children called upon to appreciate paternal kindness, but as if they were infants in the cradle, objects of pitying tenderness, incapable of provoking indignation and punishment.

Man's moral degradation is represented as his misfortune rather than his guilt. The Bible representation that man is dead in sin is interpreted to mean that he is dead to the law, to the commands of conscience, to a knowledge that even good morals are possible. "The vast majority [of men] are little more than animals to-day, and the civilized and religious portions of the globe have crept up slowly, and are very little higher." It is a natural

inference, that such beings are annihilated at death, are not worthy of punishment.

There is also a scheme of theology which looks upon men as waiting for new powers before entering upon their responsibilities. They are considered as now in their nonage, capable of doing wrong to some extent, but not actually in a state of probation. When God shall have put them in possession of those powers and privileges on which responsibility depends, then they may be called upon to respond to the high duties of religion; but simply as men in a state of nature they cannot be subject to this high calling.

There may be danger also that the doctrine of regeneration will be misunderstood and misapplied. There seems to be a tendency to overlook the fact that men are saved individually, on their personal faith. It would seem that Christ's conversation with Nicodemus had made it clear enough that the new birth is the condition of entering the kingdom of God; that Paul's statements had set forth distinctly that the Christian is a new creature; that John had sufficiently asserted, that power or permission to become sons of God depends on belief in Christ: but still there are some — and the number is increasing — who teach that to be a son of Adam is to be a son of God; that the universal fatherhood of God is the chief teaching of Christ, and the basis of the divine kingdom. In consonance with this view, salvation is an enlistment rather than a regeneration. One has only to accept the fact of the kingdom, to be a subject of the King. Christ's mission, in this view, is rather to secure votes than to renew hearts. There are professors of theology in Germany who say that the word "regeneration" should be banished from Christian literature; there are authors in England (and their influence is felt in this country) whose teachings amount to the same thing. This view would easily form an alliance with, if it is not identical with, that which makes the incarnation the chief effective force in saving men.

It is easy to see that teachings like these necessitate great changes in the doctrine of the atonement and other Christian doctrines.

Perils flowing from worldliness and from the "oppositions of science" are less subtle than those above noticed, but are by no means small.

Very sincerely,

GEO. N. BOARDMAN.

CHICAGO, March 23, 1887.

XVIII.

From the Rev. Professor S. I. Curtiss, D.D.

CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, CHICAGO,
March 19, 1887.

My dear Mr. Cook, — I shall attempt to designate only one of the "chief current religious perils:" to my mind, it embraces all the rest. I refer to

the tendency to subject the ultimate teachings of Scripture to the acceptance or rejection of our moral consciousness.

Vater, who was a Hegelian, holds in his "Old Testament Theology," that the effort of man to objectify the divine ideal in human history has given rise to the various forms of religion, such as Judaism and Christianity. These, however, as they are made known in revelation, he regards merely as stages in a progress toward an ultimate religion in which the divine ideal is to be most fully realized. If this view be true, then the Scriptures represent simply a stage in a religious progress; or, we may say, they are merely the morning stars which are to pale before the rising sun.

It seems to me that this view is utterly incorrect; that the most important of all questions is that of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, "What do the Scriptures principally teach?"

When I speak of the Scriptures, I do not mean that every part of Scripture is of equal importance for us, except as parts of an organism. The Old Testament is important because it is a constituent part of the body of Scripture; but in the New Testament are found the vitals of the Bible,—the brain and heart.

We are not to fear honest biblical criticism, whether German, English, or American. We are rather to welcome it. The Bible will still remain the arbiter of our faith after criticism has done its utmost.

The chief peril of our time is that men should ask philosophers and theologians what is the truth regarding God, man, and the future; and that the statements of the Scriptures regarding these subjects should be accepted or rejected according as they agree with the theories of eminent scholars.

The great need of our time is of a systematic theology which is less philosophical, and which is more purely biblical; which rests on a historico-critical and spiritual interpretation of God's word.

What truths are emphasized in the Bible? Are they always the same as those which have been emphasized in the history of the Church? Do the Scriptures, for example, lay as much stress on the "*filioque*" clause as the Latin Church in past centuries?

I believe, therefore, that the "chief current religious perils" arise from subjecting the plain teachings of Scripture in matters of faith to the standard of current philosophical or theological views; and that the only way of safety is to subject all opinions regarding God, man, and the future, to the clear and obvious teaching of Scripture, and so far as our religious beliefs, teachings, and discussions are concerned, to banish all speculations as unedifying,—not to say injurious,—and, so far as we are theologians, to devote our time to the certainties of our religion as revealed in the Scriptures.

Disloyalty to God's word is, then, the great peril of the time.

Yours very truly,

SAMUEL IVES CURTISS.

XIX.

From the Rev. Professor G. F. Wright, D.D., Oberlin Theological Seminary.

OBERLIN, O., March 23, 1887.

REV. JOSEPH COOK.

Dear Sir, — There are two classes of moral perils which, like the poor of whom Christ spoke, we have always with us.

First, There is danger that men will not live up to the light they have.

Second, There is danger that the truth as it is in Christ shall not be adequately and faithfully held up before the world.

The first danger brings a responsibility upon every man alike ; the second is the special concern of *public religious teachers*, since what they teach is a large part of what they do.

Without going into the question whether there is an exact equation between knowledge, and motives to virtue, all must admit that the truth is the ordinary means by which men are led to repentance and faith. We do not expect the Holy Spirit to do his office work apart from the truth. The most important responsibility of Christians, therefore, is that of using to the utmost their means for properly apprehending and promulgating the truth.

As a motive power, Christianity is essentially a system of doctrines. On the human side, the effective force of Christianity consists in what men are made to believe concerning the dignity of human nature, the ill-desert belonging to man as a sinner, the great love of God for man as shown in Christ's atoning death, and the peril of rejecting present opportunities. The chief current religious peril is, therefore, that there shall be a temporary eclipse of the truth concerning these facts, and a consequent decline in the motives to spiritual life. But I am far from being a pessimist. I only speak from the conviction that in order to be forearmed it is necessary to be forewarned.

To be more specific, the truth is in peril: —

(1) From the tendency on the part of the rising generation to give such disproportionate attention to the study of natural sciences, that they shall fail to acquire an adequate sense of the reality, the nearness, the pervasiveness, and the importance of the supernatural forces co-operating to foster human hope and to determine human destiny.

(2) Another peril appears in the increasing tendency to rationalistic treatment of the Bible. This appears in various recent attempts to eliminate the supernatural from sacred history, and in the growing disposition to reject as invalid the ordinary presumptions of evidence applying to the Bible. The readiness of many religious teachers to discard the foundations of evidence upon which Christianity has so long stood, and to lay other foundations of their own devising ; the tendency of these teachers to abandon the broad field of cumulative Christian evidence, and to insist upon the admission of no evidence for the authenticity of the separate parts of the

Bible but such direct facts as can now be raked from the embers of the past, — is a sign of degeneration. It is no small mistake, thus to cut asunder the continuity of Christian faith. The proof of the substantial integrity of the Scriptures is pre-eminently a case in which possession is nine points of the law. There is great reason to commiserate the churches who shall have let out upon them from the higher seats of learning a generation of preachers systematically trained to undervalue the argument drawn for the Christian documents from early general consent, and to magnify the significance of every fragment of early doubt, and to express confidence in nothing but the supposed utterance of the spirit of the age or of their own self-asserting "refined Christian consciousness." With such a generation of preachers in the field, the world will lose for a time the saving force of the gospel as an objective revelation of truth, and the result will be calamitous in the extreme.

(3) The Church is in peril from a growing feeling of indifference as to the value of sound doctrine. When Christianity comes to be regarded only as one of many religions of nearly equal value, and its several doctrines as opinions which it is not worth while to insist upon with earnestness, it must cease to be a conquering force in the world. There is imminent peril that growing broad-church tendencies shall so far prevail as practically to prevent the Church from insisting on some of the most vital elements of the truth as it is in Christ. We are in danger of confounding the duty of general religious toleration in the state with the rights and privileges of denominational fellowship.

(4) In the present religious discussion, there is most imminent peril that the churches will not soon enough awake to perceive the dangerous character of the erroneous and unscriptural doctrine of future probation, now demanding fellowship. This doctrine, that the gospel will be preached in the future world to those who have not heard of Christ here, but that the presentation of Christ in this life shuts men off from further privileges, will prove more paralyzing to Christian activity than Universalism, and more injurious than the Roman Catholic doctrine of purgatory. Men are not going to spend their money and their lives in the work of blindly closing doors of mercy which otherwise would be open to unregenerate souls between death and the judgment. Protestants will make a sad mistake if, with the history of Romanism before them, they thoughtlessly pave the way for the practice of praying for the dead. But this the present theory will surely do if it prevails, and if the Church continues to pray at all. The peril of the present moment is that the forbearing masses of the Church will be dragooned by a few headstrong and restless spirits into fellowshiping these views. Those who sow this kind of wind cannot fail to reap a fearful whirlwind.

The spread of the foregoing and kindred forms of error is facilitated at the present time by the exuberant growth of our civilization. The religious virtues of a past generation laid the foundations for the prosperity of the present. In the very abundance of what we now have, lies a danger. Because of it we are likely to forget the "rock whence we have been hewn, and the hole of the pit whence we have been digged."

The perfection of the printing-press is not an unalloyed blessing. In the multiplication of second and third class (not to say any thing of immoral) publications, the chances are increasing that that which is best shall be neglected. The present superabundance of earthly luxuries is in danger of dulling our perception of the inherent worth of the spiritual nature. In the disposition of so many to ignore the perils of the hour, lies its real peril.

Yours truly,

G. FREDERICK WRIGHT.

XX.

From the Rev. Daniel Steele, D.D., Professor of Didactic Theology in Boston University.

I. WHAT ARE THE CHIEF CURRENT RELIGIOUS PERILS?

THE chief peril is the ancient one of forsaking God, and hewing out broken cisterns. In our times, it is the neglect of the Holy Spirit, the treatment of him as a mere name, and not as an omnipotent Person to be brought by faith into immediate saving contact with every soul. This direct operation of the Spirit, Romanism limits to the age of the apostles; and allows to the faithful in modern times, only a sacramental grace, mediated by priestly manipulations, in accordance with the maxim, "*ubi Ecclesia, ibi Spiritus*," — where the Church is, there is the Spirit.

The trend of modern Protestantism is towards a growing feebleness of grasp upon the Holy Spirit as a reality, and a practical disuse of this source of all spiritual life and power, aptly styled by Dr. Hodge "the Executive of the Godhead."

Proofs of the general neglect of the Holy Spirit: —

1. The almost total absence of this vital theme from the higher theological periodicals of all the denominations. In forty years not one article on this vital topic is found among the twelve hundred in the "*Bibliotheca Sacra*," or in the "*Methodist Quarterly Review*." The silence of the other denominational organs is nearly as painful. The bibliography of this subject is equally meagre.

2. From these facts the inference is legitimate, that this is not a theme of intense interest to our preachers, and that their tongues are as silent as their pens on the office and work of the Third Person of the Trinity, in the salvation of souls.

3. A doctrine on which the pulpit is silent for a generation, inevitably falls out of the faith of the Church.

II. BROKEN CISTERNS, SUBSTITUTES FOR THE HOLY SPIRIT.

1. For the agency of the Spirit in regeneration, a confessed purpose to become a Christian is deemed a sufficient substitute. The outcome is the religion of good resolution, and not of saving faith in Christ.

2. For the certification of the *fact* of justification, instead of the direct witness of the Spirit of adoption, the seal of God upon the believer's consciousness, he is directed to the Word for the ascertainment by inference, of a fact which is the pivot of eternal destiny. The result is as unsatisfactory as that which follows the attempt of the State-prison convict to find the Governor's pardon in the General Statutes. The outcome is uncertainty, weakness, dissatisfaction, and apostasy. In this particular, the letter — which never certifies the *fact* of forgiveness, but only its conditions and corroborations — killeth; but the Spirit giveth both life and light.

3. For entire sanctification through the Spirit, the substitute is physical death; a natural cause producing a moral effect; death, the effect of sin, extinguishing its own cause. For this usurpation of the office of the Sanctifier, there are no proof-texts.

The outcome in theology is a tacit affirmation of gnostic dualism, — evil an inherent and inexpugnable quality of matter; and, in practice, the seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, a lifelong struggle of the old man with the new man, and the old man atop, as the best that the glorious gospel of Christ can do for the spiritual perfection of the believer.

4. For personal holiness, inwrought by the Holy Ghost, and maintained by his indwelling, is substituted an imaginary perfect and inalienable standing in Christ, wholly independent of moral conduct and character. The outcome is antinomianism, a rejection of God's law as the rule of life, through the attempt to substitute an intellectual faith for holiness of heart.

5. Instead of a courageous faith in the power of the gospel to evangelize the whole world, through its proclamation, attended by the power of the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven, there is substituted by some truly spiritual men, the pre-millennial advent of Christ, and his personal reign on the earth. The outcome is a pessimistic, paralyzing despair, accounting the dispensation of the Holy Spirit a stupendous failure, reflecting upon the wisdom of both the Father and the Son by whom he was sent.

6. Instead of a willing and ample support of the Gospel by the offering of gifts, by Spirit-baptized hearts, there is a resort to various worldly and sometimes morally questionable financial devices, attempting to yoke up the world and the flesh, to draw the car of the sinless Jesus. The outcome is Christianity degraded and vilified before the eyes of her enemies.

III. THE REMEDY.

1. For the ministry, the upper room in Jerusalem.

2. For the laity, a personal Pentecost.

The Church will then be turned back from her world-ward drift, and evangelical theology will be delivered from its present perils; for the fulness of the Holy Ghost is the only effectual conservator of orthodoxy. Those denominations which most emphasize the work of the Spirit have the least trouble in preserving doctrinal unity.

XXI.

From the Rev. Professor A. Hovey, D.D., Newton Theological Seminary.

To the question, "What, in your opinion, are the chief current religious perils?" I answer, that one of them seems to me to be a diminishing reverence for the *authority* of the Holy Scriptures. No doubt the Bible is studied by more people to-day than ever before. In many respects it is better understood than it was a hundred years ago. But there are abundant signs of restiveness under its authority, and a large part of the religious as well as the secular literature of the day betrays a waning confidence in the supremacy of the Divine Word. It is accepted by many as an incentive to independent religious study in quest of the way of life, rather than as a final and sufficient revelation of that way.

And this brings me to another peril of the hour, namely, an undue reliance upon the authority of Christian consciousness. For every man who appeals to Christian consciousness, as a source or test of truth, means primarily his own consciousness, that is, his own reason and experience as apprehended by him at the present time. But how narrow is the range of any man's experience! How small a part of the infinite realm of truth can be explored by a finite mind! And how sadly will remaining sin distort the vision! It is freely admitted that certain truths of the Christian religion have, when received into the soul, not only a self-evidencing, but also a clarifying power, so that the action of reason and conscience is thereafter more likely to be correct. But the history of Christian thought and life proves only too clearly that we need an inspired record by which to test the wisest man's reason and the worthiest man's sentiment. In the light of that supreme teaching, every theory or speculation must be tried. If it is seen to reflect the clear rays of that light, it may be safely pronounced Christian, but otherwise not.

Another religious peril of the hour is that of consecrating only a part of one's life to the Lord. A seventh of one's time and a tenth of one's income are deemed enough for the Saviour, while all the rest is given to self and the world. Such a division was always false in principle, and the problems of modern society are fast showing that it will be impossible in practice. Business and politics, education and reform, the family and the state, must be pervaded by the spirit of Christ, or the modern world will fare no better than the ancient. In every age of the world, clear-sighted men have seen a crisis; but in no age since the time of Christ has so much been at stake as now; in no age has the weal of mankind been so wholly dependent, under God, on the spiritual energy and consecration of Christians.

ALVAH HOVEY.

XXII.

From the Rev. Professor I. E. Dwinell, D.D., Pacific Theological Seminary.

OAKLAND, CAL., March 26, 1887.

JOSEPH COOK, *Lecturer.*

A. J. GORDON, *President Boston Monday Lectureship.*

Dear Sirs, — I reply by return mail to your inquiries.

"The chief current religious perils" may be classified as those coming from *within*, and those coming from *without*.

1. *Those from Within.* — The fundamental statement of these perils, which I would make, is an *undue exaltation of the human element in Christianity*. Christianity, looked at as coming from God, is a divine force appropriating from the start, as a condition of its existence on the earth, a human element, and dynamically uniting with it; the two elements — the human and the divine — inseparably and vitally united, constituting revealed religion, which comes to take hold of humanity, and raise it up to God.

Under human inspection and analysis, these two elements are in a state of unstable equilibrium.

Now, there seems to be a tendency, on the one hand, to undo this divinely formed unity, critically examine it in order to separate the two elements, and then regard as worthless, and no part of divine Christianity, all the portions having on them a tinge of human color, leaving only the remaining slack, fleecy, indeterminate portions as divine; and a tendency, on the other hand, to set up, over against this limp Christianity, outside human elements as of coördinate or semi-coördinate rank, in determining religious belief. It makes no difference whether these outside elements are called reason, Christian consciousness, or natural religion: they push the human element into prominence, and in the same proportion sink the divine.

Under the influence of these two tendencies, — the thinning out of the divine element, and the introducing of the outside human elements, — there is a shrinkage of Christian doctrine on the divine side, and a corresponding development of it on the human side. Calvinism is drawing in its points, and a theology of the humanities proclaiming its platitudes.

On the *practical* side, the outcome is a humanizing rather than a Christianizing of the Church. The distance between Church life and worldly life, in respect to amusements, fashion, luxury, is growing less. The Church is going out into the world, and the world is going over into the Church. The standard for entering, and the standard for living afterwards, are lower. The encroachment appears even in worship itself, leading often to undue attention to architecture, æsthetic music, and preaching with human attractions rather than evangelistic power.

Here, I think, is the great all-inclusive peril from within: *the humanizing of our religion.*

2. *The Peril from Without.* — This is in the *spirit of the age*. The air is full of materialism, agnosticism, positivism, pantheism, secularism, and revolutionary social theories, — every thing opposed to true supernaturalism

and theism. Christianity cannot help being affected by this spirit. Its progress is withstood by it. It is itself modified by it. Some of its friends and defenders even try to find a standard for it under the terms and conditions of this spirit, securing as a result a thin, emasculated, gasping Christianity.

These I regard as the great perils. But it pains me to mention them, and leave out the other side; for I believe that, in spite of them, Christianity has reserves of force that will enable it to rise above them all, and go on in future, as in the past, conquering and to conquer.

Sincerely and truly yours,

ISRAEL E. DWINELL.

XXIII.

From the Rev. John E. Todd, D.D.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., March 21, 1887.

REV. JOSEPH COOK, *Boston, Mass.*

My dear Sir, — The chief current religious perils seem to me to be these :—

1. *Secularism*, or worldliness, manifesting itself in absorption in business, devotion to pleasure, interest in other organizations more than in the Church, violation of the Lord's Day, neglect of religious duties, and a disposition to indulge in personal ease and pleasure, regardless of the needs of the sinful and perishing world, and as if there were no future and higher life.

2. *Unbelief*, or doubt, respecting the divine truth and authority of the Word of God.

3. *Lack of Religious Instruction*. Our sermons are disconnected, and too often unintelligible, essays. Our Sunday schools are busy with Scripture narratives, studied piecemeal if at all. There is little religious instruction in the family. There is no catechism, and no systematic setting-forth of Christian truth. Too many, even among Christians, have no clear understanding of the fundamental doctrines of the gospel, or of "the first principles of the oracles of God."

4. *Sentimentalism*. The great principles of righteousness and justice are lost sight of. God is regarded as an amiable imbecile. Retribution is unfeared. Consequently the obligations of morality and duty are unfelt. The foundations of integrity are sapped. Men in high places, even in the Church, astonish the world with exhibitions of want of principle and faithlessness to duty, and insensibility of conscience. Men in low places glory in deeds which shock the instincts of humanity and manhood. Crime finds everywhere much sympathy, and largely goes unpunished.

5. *Exclusiveness*. Christians gratify their own tastes, and seek their own benefit, in their worship, but do not practically recognize the Church as a

"brotherhood." If they do any thing toward saving and elevating the masses, it is through "missions" and "agencies," rather than through personal association and sympathy and helpfulness in "the household of faith." The poor are made to feel that they are not wanted in the Church. Labor looks upon Christianity as an ally of capital. We have forgotten the saying of our Lord that "all we are brethren," and that the great mission of Christianity is "to bind up the broken-hearted" and to reclaim the lost, and that then only does it give any satisfactory evidence of its divine origin and nature, when "the poor have the gospel preached to them," and Christian love embraces all men without distinction of class or race. The gulf between the Church and the masses is widening day by day.

Of course there are large exceptions to these statements, and there are many things which lighten the darkness of this picture. I speak only of general tendencies, — sources of peril.

Very truly yours,

JOHN E. TODD.

XXIV.

From the Rev. E. K. Alden, D.D., Home Secretary of the American Board of Foreign Missions, Boston.

REV. JOSEPH COOK.

Dear Sir, — In response to your inquiry I would reply, that, in my opinion, one of the religious perils of the hour is the failure of many good men to discern the peril. There is sometimes a drift toward error which is gradual and almost imperceptible, and yet may be so steady and strong that the trend of a man's influence is toward error, although he is continuously advocating the truth. There are times when what a man omits to say is more effective in the wrong direction, than are all his words in the right direction. If a person is known to hold a serious error, even though he may seldom or never directly advocate it, that fact that he is known to hold the error will possibly neutralize all his fervid utterances of the truth. This is particularly the case when the error is a popular current error, which needs to be steadily resisted by all good men.

Indeed, there are times when the exclusive advocacy of certain important truths has the effect of error. And the reason is, that the truths are advocated in the interests of error. For example, there was a time, as some of us well remember, when the constant reiteration of the importance of saving the National Union was the most deadly weapon in the interests of secession. Nothing is more common, as we are daily reminded, than loud declamation in behalf of liberty in the interests of the worst forms of thralldom.

So at the present time some of the most precious gospel truths are preached in the interest of some of the most pernicious errors. In other words, the unseasonable or disproportionate presentation of certain truths

makes for error. Not that the error should always or often be definitely and directly opposed in a controversial manner, though this is sometimes inevitable; but that the appropriate timely truth best fitted to counteract, here and now, that particular error, should be vigorously presented.

To be more specific: the popular trend just now in certain localities, not a thousand miles from Boston, is toward the unscriptural and dangerous dogma that all men will be finally saved.

This error underlies a considerable part of the teaching and preaching of more than one religious denomination, and of more than one religious teacher whose instructions, in the main, are evangelical. But these very instructions, which emphasize the universality of the atonement, the universality of the offers of mercy, the Fatherhood of God, and the yearning of that Father's heart toward all his children, "not willing that any should perish," — these instructions alone, silent as to the connected warning of the imminent peril of presuming on this superabounding divine grace, ignoring the divine justice and the certainty of the final doom of the wicked, become the persistent preaching of error in its most subtle and seductive form. Unless a person clearly discerns and strongly believes in the ultimate separation of the righteous and the wicked, in the "everlasting death" as certainly as the "everlasting life," and is known so to believe, emphasizing this serious truth, as did our Lord and his apostles, in association with the precious truths centring in the riches of divine grace, presenting them both with the same tenderness, he will almost inevitably be a continuous teacher of dangerous error.

Herein lies the peril of the unscriptural teaching, even in a hypothetical form, of the possibility, for some, of gracious opportunity for repentance beyond death. The word of God is so explicit in so many varied forms in declaring that "the righteous" and "the wicked" to whom it alludes are "the righteous" and "the wicked" whose characters are formed in the present life, and who will thus stand with unchanged characters in the "resurrection of the just and of the unjust," that the omission to declare this momentous truth and to use it as did our Lord himself to give urgency to his word is a fatal omission, both in the instructions of a theological seminary and of a Christian pulpit, and will, almost without fail, involve the teaching of error under the guise, and even in the utterance, of precious truth. Here certainly is one of our "current religious perils."

Yours respectfully,

E. K. ALDEN.

BOSTON, March 21, 1887.

XXV.

From Hon. Neal Dow, Portland, Maine.

WHAT ARE THE CHIEF CURRENT RELIGIOUS PERILS? WHY DOES
MODERN CHRISTIANITY FAIL TO FOLLOW CHRIST?

A SMALL volume was published in England twenty years ago, entitled "Modern Christianity, Civilized Heathenism." Its author was a clergyman of the Established Church. A copy of it was presented to me by an English lady, a member of the Society of Friends. At first I thought it an infidel book, but soon found myself mistaken. The whole of it is the relation of a conversation between the author and a friend, whom he calls a heathen, because he was impatient at his exhortations to become a Christian.

"How do I know," the heathen said, "whether there is such a thing as Christianity, whether such a person as Christ ever lived? What evidence have I that anybody believes in him or in it? I see nobody who indicates in any way that he has such a faith. When I see a man really living a Christian life, manifesting in that way his faith in the Gospel and in Jesus as his Redeemer, then I will gladly join him, and we two will walk together in the straight and narrow way."

A love of luxurious display, of show and fashion, is an insuperable obstacle to a Christian life, leading inevitably to an eager pursuit of wealth, which often, if not always, involves questionable or more than questionable methods.

I was born and lived a Friend. The members of that society teach practically that this life is a matter of small moment except as an opportunity to prepare for the great future. Display of every sort, whether in dress, equipage, or otherwise, is specially discountenanced by them. Non-conformity with the world in all such things is carefully enjoined, and Friends are exhorted to live a Christian life as well as to profess a Christian faith. Every month the question is publicly asked in their business meetings: "Are Friends careful that their daily walk and conversation shall be in harmony with their profession?" Again at their monthly, and their quarterly, and their yearly meetings, this question is solemnly propounded: "Are Friends careful that their daily walk and conversation shall be in harmony with their profession?"

If an affirmative answer to this question could be truthfully given by all professing Christians, there would be no inquiry about the "chief current religious perils," nor would it occur to anybody that "Christianity fails to follow Christ."

NEAL DOW.

TWELFTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP COMMITTEE,
MARCH 28, 1887.

THE committee in charge of the Boston Monday Lectureship make the following report:—

1. The Lectureship is now in its twelfth year. Mr. Cook has delivered in Boston one hundred and ninety-four lectures on the most difficult and important religious and philosophical themes. As nearly all these lectures have been accompanied by preludes on the most vital issues of reform, he has discussed not far from twice that number of subjects.

2. The committee have been gratified at the undiminished attendance on the lectures; from two to three thousand people having gathered at noon on Mondays, week after week, during the present course, to listen to these discussions.

3. The subjects discussed this year have related to Current Religious Perils, and the positions taken have commanded the earnest approval of the evangelical friends of the Lectureship. The preludes have discussed Leaders and Misleaders in High Places; Lord's Day Lawlessness; the Indian as a Political Cripple; National Perils from Illiteracy; Creed and Deed among Church-Members; Henry Ward Beecher as Preacher and Reformer; Men, Money, and Motive in Missions; Perjury and Disloyalty among Mormons. These addresses have, as heretofore, been wholly independent of sect or party, and as useful as they were timely.

4. In the lectures proper, a continuous course of thought, occupying over three hours, and intended to be read as one discourse, has outlined a philosophy of theistic realism, and suggested as watchwords of aggressive Christianity the Imitation of Christ and Self-surrender to the Self-evident. In the conflict with spiritual theism without Christ, a spiritual theism with Christ has been shown to be the only faith capable of defence from the point of view of the methods of science, or of meeting the wants of the individual soul, or of the modern age of the world.

5. A peculiarly new feature of the course of lectures for 1887 has been the introduction of eight original Boston hymns, which have been sung by the audience with impressive effect in its devotional exercises.

6. The publication of the Boston Monday lectures in a separate form, in a series of pamphlets, has made the Lectureship wholly independent of the press, given it an accredited organ of its own, of which the lecturer has exclusive control, and has already proved a success, with much promise for the future.

7. The co-operation of specialists in reform, by letters to the Lectureship, has been especially full and valuable this year. A symposium of letters on Current Religious Perils has been contributed for publication from the Rev. Professor E. A. Park, President Seelye, Ex-President Thomas Hill, Bishop Huntington, Hon. Neal Dow, Miss Frances E. Willard, the Rev. Dr. E. K. Alden, the Rev. Dr. John E. Todd, President Fairchild, Professor Daniel Steele, Professor S. I. Curtiss, Ex-President Cyrus Hamlin, the Rev. Dr. Josiah Strong, President Bartlett, Professor G. F. Wright, Professor Alvah Hovey, Professor G. N. Boardman, the Rev. Dr. C. A. Bartol, Ex-President Magoun, Bishop Nicholson, Bishop Doane, Bishop Paddock, and others. The wide travel and acquaintanceship of the lecturer enable him to draw fresh information from correspondents in many parts of the world.

Profoundly grateful to Providence for the remarkable opportunities of usefulness opened for so many years to the Boston Monday Lectureship, the committee in charge of it recommend, —

(1) That Mr. Cook be requested to continue his lectures next season, on the same general plan as heretofore. (Long-continued applause.)

(2) That the Boston Monday Lecture Association be enlarged in membership, but that a portion of the seats at the lectures be kept open, free to the general public.

(3) That the thanks of the association are due to Mr. J. P. Bacon, the accomplished stenographer, who has reported the lectures. (Applause.)

REV. A. J. GORDON, D.D., *Chairman.*

REV. N. G. CLARK, D.D.

REV. WILLIAM F. WARREN, D.D., LL.D.

REV. A. H. PLUMB, D.D.

REV. JAMES M. GRAY.

REV. V. A. LEWIS.

REV. L. B. BATES, D.D.

RUSSELL STURGIS, JUN.

REV. M. R. DEMING, *Secretary.*

GEORGE A. FOXCROFT, *Business Manager and Treasurer.*

BOSTON, March 28, 1887.

The foregoing report was read by the Rev. Dr. A. J. Gordon, and unanimously adopted.

HONORARY COMMITTEE OF THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHP.

REV. JAMES MCCOSH, D.D., LL.D., President of Princeton College.

REV. R. S. STORRS, D.D., LL.D., Brooklyn, N.Y.

REV. ROSWELL D. HITCHCOCK, D.D., LL.D., New-York City.

REV. WILLIAM M. TAYLOR, D.D., LL.D., New-York City.

Prof. EDWARDS A. PARK, D.D., LL.D., Andover, Mass.

Prof. J. P. GULLIVER, D.D., Andover, Mass.

Bishop F. D. HUNTINGTON, D.D., LL.D., Syracuse, N.Y.

Prof. S. I. CURTISS, D.D., Chicago Theological Seminary.

Ex-President GEORGE F. MAGOUN, D.D., LL.D., Iowa College.

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Prof. BORDEN P. BOWNE, Boston University.

SAMUEL JOHNSON, Esq., Boston.

Rev. Prof. L. T. TOWNSEND, D.D., Boston University.

Rev. OTIS GIBSON, San Francisco.

Hon. JOHN EATON, Ph.D., LL.D., Marietta College, Ohio.

X.

HIGH-CASTE HINDU WIDOWS.

ADDRESS BY THE PUNDITA RAMABAI OF BOMBAY.

WOMAN IN NEW JAPAN.

REPORT FROM THE REV. C. S. EBY OF TOKIO.

PROHIBITION IN CANADA.

REPORT FROM J. MACDONALD OXLEY OF OTTAWA.

"In India, within the next generation, no doubt, the great moral movement, the great instalment of progress to be expected, is the spread of female education. . . . It is a difficult thing to get schoolmistresses in India, because of the social prejudices, and because of the early age at which the girls are married. But there are, we grieve to think, large numbers of widows, who, according to the Hindu system, must lead a thoroughly miserable life, without hope or occupation in the world; and for them the honored profession of schoolmistress opens an excellent career. The schools for which I venture to bespeak your best exertions are those of the zenana missions, which are carried on, not in the villages, nor in the busy streets of the towns, but in the houses, in the apartments of the middle classes and the wealthy. It is most important that enlightenment should spread among the upper classes of the women, in order that it may be the leaven to affect the whole mass of female education throughout British India. . . . You cannot do better for the cause of Christianity than to continue these exertions on behalf of your Eastern sisters, in the full confidence that such educational enlightenment must be necessarily followed by the propagation of Christianity.

"As an old Finance Minister of India, I ought to know, if anybody does, when the money's worth is got by any operation; and myself having also administered, from first to last, provinces which comprise nearly half British India, I say that of all departments I have ever administered, I never saw one more efficient than the missionary department; and of all the hundreds of officers I had under my command, European officers and gentlemen, I have never seen a better body of men than the Protestant missionaries."—Sir RICHARD TEMPLE: *Oriental Experiences*, pp. 163, 164.

NEW PROPOSALS FOR THE EDUCATION OF HIGH-CASTE HINDU WIDOWS.

AN ADDRESS BY THE PUNDITA RAMABAI.

ON March 28, the Pundita Ramabai of India, after having been introduced to the audience of the Boston Monday Lectureship at Tremont Temple (see p. 195), addressed a parlor-meeting of a hundred or more guests at Mr. and Mrs. Cook's rooms on Beacon Street, the Rev. Dr. N. G. Clark presiding.

I am very glad to meet you, my friends, and Mr. Joseph Cook and Mrs. Joseph Cook. They have been very good friends to me, and so have all these good people of Boston, and I am very thankful to have this opportunity of meeting you. Of course I cannot tell you in detail all that I would like to say to you; for my time is limited, and I am anxious not to tire you in any way. What I wish most to put before the public of the United States is the need of education for women in India.

From the earliest hour when I began to think about myself and my countrywomen, the first thing that struck me was their lack of education. It has been my privilege to travel nearly all over India with my brother; and, in doing so, I came in contact with the women who lived in different parts of the country. Of course some of the religious customs and habits differ in different parts of the country; but there is something very much the same in every part of India in woman's life, because the law that tells women what to do, and governs women, so to speak, and instructs men how to treat their women, is the same in all parts of the country, in saying that women are to be kept down, and to be dependent upon men.

The Lawgiver tells us that for a woman to live alone, that is, to live without the protection of a man, in the religious sense of the word, is to live without a man to be a god to her. And almost all the laws agree in this saying. Now, of course, that idea could not be carried out successfully unless men had kept women in ignorance altogether. In ancient times there were some fiery spirits who rose against men, and proclaimed that they had as much right to study the philosophies and religion as men had, and

they even ventured to argue with men. So men found it convenient not to teach women at all, and instituted what is now known as child-marriage. Brahmin fathers give their daughters in marriage, or allow them to be chosen, at the time they are nine or ten; and from that time the child has to be dependent, always looking to her husband or male relative as her god and protector. The man to whom she is united in marriage is her god; and the Lawgiver tells us a woman has no right to do any religious act or any thing else apart from her husband. She must do every thing through her husband, and therefore he is her mediator. Whether he is good or bad, does not matter. Even if he is a thief or murderer, or worse still, yet he is a god to that woman, and she must serve him as God.

This, perhaps, may seem to you an exaggeration, but I have here good authority in the Laws of Menu. I am sure that some of my friends would like to see these texts by themselves, and they will find them in the fifth chapter of the Laws of Menu, which treats particularly on the subject of women. And Menu tells us in so many words that the religion of woman is to serve her husband, and to obey him in word, deed, and thought. She must never rebel against him, never do any thing that will displease him, whether he be good or bad. Well, with such a religion for women, we can very well understand how the men found it convenient to keep women in ignorance; for, of course, if they had allowed women to study equally with themselves, the women would have found out that, after all, these husbands were mortal men, and that they had not the godly qualities to be gods of women (laughter), and therefore the men would not have found the education of women very convenient (laughter).

In this way, for about two thousand years, the whole womankind of India, I may say, has been kept in thick darkness. And since the Mohammedans came into our country, one more thing has been added to the general bad treatment of women; and that is the zenana system, as you know, that is, keeping the women in seclusion. Of course the low-caste people, those who are the working-classes, cannot keep their women in seclusion, because they have to depend greatly upon their labor. Their women go out in the fields; they sometimes plough; they work with their hands; they carry bricks on their heads, and do every thing that man is expected to do. And, in addition to that, they take care of their babies, and do the household work. And the lower-class men, of course, find it very convenient to have the women employed in that way. The high-caste men, however, think they have enough to live upon by themselves without employing their women in outdoor work, and they make it a part of their religion to keep them in seclusion. This is not so in all parts of India; it is only in the eastern and northern part of India, where the Mohammedans prevail most, that we have the strict seclusion, the zenana system. In Western and Southern India, where the Mohammedans were not allowed to do whatever they liked, the women have been more free, and had more privileges, than their sisters in the northern part of the country.

But still, in one way the women are secluded in all parts of India. They have not the right to speak to a strange man, or even to join in a religious ceremony where strange men would be likely to go. Sometimes they are

allowed to go into the temples, and hear the priests expound the sacred books. But there is a very curious custom in Southern India; namely, that the priests, who think that women's ears are not good enough to hear the sacred words, keep between their female hearers and themselves a brass bell, and address their sacred words to the bell instead of to the women (laughter), and so make their doctrines a little more efficient. What they do hear, as their religion is explained to them by men, always leads to the conclusion that the sum and substance of woman's religion is to serve her husband.

How was this condition developed? It was only through ignorance. The priesthood first found it very good, perhaps it was for their own advantage, to keep the lower-caste people in ignorance; and by and by they extended that same limitation to the women of their own caste; and now we have no education to speak of. Since the English people have come to our country, there have been a great many public schools established all over India; and in Bengal we have some mixed schools, and there are some schools for girls. But these are only places for children; sometimes, not very often, pupils stay in these schools till they are ten years old, but between seven and nine is the school-going period for a girl. There are a great many missionary schools. Of course we have to give credit first to the missionaries for the beginning of education in India. They were the first to establish schools. The East-India Company thought that if they enlightened the people of our country, their rule would not exist very long in India, and a great many of the Churchmen thought it would be very convenient to keep the men and women in ignorance; and they would not permit them even to study their own language, and would not encourage the educational system, and allow them to study the English language. But the missionaries were bold, and they first began to teach the people. And one curious fact, which perhaps a great many of you know, is, that when the first Baptist missionaries went from England to India, the East-India Company prevented them from preaching the gospel to our people, from the same fear that they showed afterwards in regard to educating the people. Of course we want to give credit first to the missionaries for encouraging general education in our country; and they have influenced public opinion a great deal in giving education to all classes, and amongst others to the women. But I cannot say that the women are really given much education in the schools, with a few exceptions, although a great many of the girls go to school. You will be surprised to find that the number of our women and school-going girls who know either how to read or write or to read and write is about two hundred thousand out of a hundred and twenty-two millions. Now, I do not exactly know how much that proportion will be if we had to divide these hundred and twenty-two million by two hundred thousand. You will calculate that (laughter). That is all we have of what are called educated women. When it is said these are educated women, it means that these women who are educated in such a manner as that, by going to school or by employing private teachers, are educated up to the standard reading-books, first, second, and third. And that is the highest standard, I suppose, for a great many. There are what are called the normal schools, established by the English Government some sixteen years since, — half a dozen for all India. These

normal schools have in their curriculum the standard reading-books; and the women who are taught there to be teachers only know the reading-books and a little geography and a little arithmetic, and, perhaps, a little history that tells them how the English came into our country, how we had no history before that, how the English were faithful all through, and how we were false to them everywhere and in every thing (laughter). That is about the kind of history we have taught to us in our country.

That is all I can say about the higher education, except in a few places. There is one very remarkable school in Calcutta for women, which was established about fifty years ago, and after fifty years it has produced four graduates of Calcutta University. Three of them are Bachelors of Art, and one of them is a Master of Art; and these four women have done something in the eyes of Hindu men. Of course, to begin with, high education for women was discouraged as much as could be. We were told that our brains did not weigh as much as the brains of men, and that our constitutions were not made for education, and that we would neglect our babes and our husbands and our houses, etc., if we were to be educated, — the same old story that you have heard in this country. (Laughter and applause.) But we think some women even in India, not to say in this country, have proved that these stories are not quite so very true as they might seem at first hearing. And one remarkable woman, who came to this country and studied medicine, and graduated at Philadelphia, has gone back to India, and has shown that women can master medical science. A few years ago, when this movement was started for medical women for India, some of our best men were asked what their opinion was about women studying medical science. A great many of them asked, "What good will it do to let them study it?" And the masses, of course, are always against woman's education, and they did not think it worth while to let their girls have any education at all. So that accounts for the very small number of our educated women, about two hundred thousand; and they know merely how to read, or to read and write. Their education is discouraged, and many of them have completely lost the little they have learned from the schools by the time they have got to their mothers-in-law; and that period comes about the time they are nine or ten years old, when they go to stay in the zenanas.

Of course, if their husbands happen to be good, they are comparatively happy; and as they do not know any better, they do not complain. But there are a great many unhappy circumstances to trouble them. First, the marriage is not formed by choice of either party. It is the third parties who encourage this kind of marriage. They choose the future husbands and wives, and unite them. And the priests take the marriage-vows, because the children cannot pronounce them. The children do not know the Sanskrit language, and are not able to understand what is said, and so the priests of both bride and bridegroom take the marriage vows to be faithful to each other; and thus, in one sense, the priests are married, and not the future couple. (Laughter.) But still, that marriage is considered as lawful, without the consent of either party. But as men in other countries have more liberty, and more choice of doing any thing, so in India too (laughter); and if after they come to their age, — sometimes they like their wives, and other

times they do not like them, — they happen not to like them, they say, “I have not chosen you; you had better be by yourself, and I will marry another woman.” And so it goes on. But one restraint there is, and that is poverty. A great many men cannot afford to marry a second wife, and support her and her family, and that is good (laughter and applause). But there are a great many middle-class men and rich men who can marry as many as seven hundred wives, sometimes a thousand wives, but that phenomenon is not quite common. (Laughter.)

In Eastern India the very high-caste Brahmin is considered as great as a god, and every father of a daughter thinks it a great privilege to give his daughter in marriage to such a Brahmin; and he tries very hard, and bribes the man to take his daughter in marriage so that he may be saved in the next world and obtain great privileges in heaven. So he tries to give his daughter to him; and in addition to that he promises to support her, to keep her in his own home, instead of sending her to her husband. So there are some men who make it their business to go about marrying other people’s daughters without any expense to themselves. (Laughter.) And to this day this horrible custom exists in Bengal, and in the eastern part of Bengal especially: one man will marry sometimes a hundred and fifty wives, and if this one man dies these one hundred and fifty girls are considered widows, though they may never have seen their husband, because they are only betrothed when they are small and not married, though after the betrothal ceremony they are religiously married, and if the man dies then they are all widows.

Many of you know what the lot of a high-caste Hindu widow is in India. There are lower-caste people who can marry again, and begin housekeeping, and take care of themselves and their children. But the high-caste widows, even if they are children, when they come to their age, if they want to marry again are not allowed to do so, though a man can do so. He must never allow the sacred fire to go out, but he must always kindle the flame, the law tells us; and one thing very curious is that a man cannot keep a sacred fire unless he has a wife. I suppose that has something to do with the household work; and as a wife is necessary for that thing, therefore marriage is made compulsory on his part.

Women are almost in every case unjustly deprived of every privilege by which they could make themselves comfortable. A widow is not only not allowed to marry again, but is subjected to a great many kinds of punishment. Though the law does not tell what the widow has committed in her former life, the popular belief is that she must be a murderess of her husband, and, therefore, that in this world she is suffering the punishment which is sent to her in the shape of widowhood, and that she must suffer all the indignities, all this severe pain, for her former crimes that she has committed in some other existence. She does not know what it is, but the priests know, and so they think she is a murderess, the child-widow especially. Of course it depends upon the nature of the crime which has been committed. If, in a previous life, she has been only disloyal to her husband or disobedient, she becomes in this life a widow in advanced age, and has sons and daughters to take care of her; but if she is a child-widow, then she has committed this capital crime, and must be punished accordingly. And even the natural

parents join the public in persecuting and starving the child. In Southern India and in Eastern India, among the Bengalese especially, this child, even if she is thirteen or fourteen, is compelled to do with only one meal a day, to fast twice a month, and in twenty-four hours she may not even drink a drop of water, even if she is dying. And some people go so far as to assist her to keep her fast. If she is dying, they will pour a drop or two of water in her ears instead of in her throat, and so let her keep the fast. It does not matter a bit if she dies in that fasting, and it would be the proper thing for her to die. But I must say that all the people are not so cruel. There are parents who will take advantage of any thing, and give a little food to their child to keep her alive. But still they consider it their duty to mortify her soul and body, so that she may be purified, purged of her sins, and may have a better chance in the next world. And I am not surprised that they feel so. Under the impression of religious duty, men and women can do any thing. They become worse than beasts, sometimes, when they think their religion tells them so, and under the impression of religious belief they will do such things as these. They do not mean to be cruel to their children; and the children understand them perfectly well, because they have been brought up in that way. And a great many women live this austere life for a long time, and others die very soon because they cannot live under it.

But there are young people who cannot stand this severity of widowhood; and they escape from their homes, and want to have the freedom that they are entitled to by nature but are prevented from having by society. They must go somewhere to get their freedom, no matter where; and young people, when they take a plan into their heads, will carry it out. Their blood is hot, and they think they will be all right when they go out in the world, with nobody to take care of them. But when these children, or rather, young women, go out of their homes, they have no intention whatever except to get freedom. They find it, however, very hard to maintain themselves in the world. It is not so very easy as they have thought before. They have never been accustomed to take care of themselves, or to make an independent, honorable living by any thing but household work. When such a woman goes out from her home, every thing is against her in society, and therefore it will not give her any support. She will not even be received as a servant in a respectable family, and, therefore, she must either starve, or commit suicide, or something worse; and a great many women are driven to do such things, because they cannot endure the severity of widowhood.

About sixty years ago, when suttee was practised in India, a great many widows thought it their last chance to escape the horrors of widowhood, and therefore they offered themselves as living sacrifices on the funeral pyres of their husbands. It has been a good thing for us, that this rite was stopped by the English government; but still we regret that something better has not been given to us in its stead. When one chance has been taken from the widow, she wants something else to fill the place of that right. And I have heard this opinion expressed generally by the widows, that they had rather practise that rite than live to be widows, and suffer all the pains and disgrace of widowhood. They think themselves that they are really guilty of murdering their husbands in their former life; and therefore they

feel very much ashamed to show themselves to any one, and they think it would be better for them if they killed themselves, and a great many of them do.

In order to stop this horrible custom of suicide, or something worse, we must do something that will give a good chance to widows to make their lives comfortable. What better can we do than to give education to them, so that they may bear the light of the outer world, and take care of themselves, and not mind what society says? I am sure that although the Hindu society is so very severe against the heretics, as they call them, — whoever depart from their ancient ways, of course, are heretics, and they are looked down upon as a shame to society, — yet on the whole the people are tolerant. They will tolerate certain things; and if the women show that they can take care of themselves, and that they do not fear the men, or the law, or whatever it may be, even the gods, then I think that the Hindus will confess that it would be better to leave them alone. And I have seen some women who have done this thing. They are now taking care of themselves, and nobody molests them in Bengal. And I believe if we could give the widows education enough to keep them from the indignities of the people, and enough to give them power to make their own living and an honorable living, the women would rise, and go about, and teach their own sisters. These women who have suffered most will want to do something for their own sisters. I have no doubt about that. I have seen many of them who have expressed a desire to do something for their sisters; but they do not know the way, how they will do it. And I propose, when I go home, to establish a school for widows; to give them support as well as education, and to prepare them to be teachers, and to send them out into the zenanas.

There are, you know, a great many so-called enlightened men. I say “so-called,” because there are very few men who say and practise the same things. (Laughter.) There are a great many people whom you will go and hear in halls lecturing and making loud speeches, and very good speeches; they know the English language very well, and they will speak to you, — and our friend Mr. Cook, perhaps, has heard a great many such learned people and enlightened people, — but I am sorry to say they go and make their speeches, and leave them in the halls where they utter them (laughter), and go away as empty as they came there. They do not put their speeches into practice. There are but very few, indeed, who put the things in practice which they say are right. But all the same, these enlightened men do not find it very comfortable to have ignorant wives by them. And man has learned in India, at last, that when he keeps somebody else under his feet, he is not elevated by that, but is dragged down. And the enlightened men of India find that they have been trying hard to keep the women down, and now when the men want to lift themselves up the women will drag them down. The mother and mothers-in-law and sisters think that that is the thing they must do, that man must never do this or that, and they will say, “You must stay here just where you are;” and in that way the enlightened men find it hard to move forward and make any progress at all. And such men, though they are not courageous enough to go forward and give education to their daughters, yet, I am sure, will be glad to find that there are

some women who will come into their zenanas, and teach their daughters there. Of course then the men will lean upon the women for help, and I hope we shall see that glorious day. I am not speaking this in a spirit of revenge, but I think it is a proper punishment to the men that they will have to do it. (Laughter.)

We hope to get a proper living and proper position for these widows when they are educated sufficiently. But the first thing for us to do is to educate them, and we must have schools where they can go and have support as well as education. As perhaps a great many of you know, a Hindu woman does not inherit any thing from either her husband or father. The only thing she can have is the private property of her mother, and that private property is only that which is given to her by her parents as dowry, a personal present: she may keep a brass nose-ring, or a bracelet, that is all. There is nothing substantial that will keep the widow through her life, and there are not many widows who can have even these things. And so, even if they are of high caste or of very rich families, yet the widows are penniless. And if they come out of their homes they cannot expect to be supported by their own people, because the people think it a disgrace for them to go out and have education. Education for women in India is a disgrace. The highest appellation that is given to a woman is "stupid." The word for beautiful and stupid is the same. (Laughter.) The Sanskrit word which means timid, means stupid and beautiful as well. To be all three is the highest virtue of a woman; and, of course, to have any education is, therefore, a disgrace. Women are not allowed to speak the Sanskrit language. So you see we are altogether deprived of any higher education; and, of course, the people think it disgraceful, and therefore they will not support the widows while they are being educated.

How, then, shall we do this work, this founding of homes for widows, and schools for them, where they can go and be educated and be enlightened so that they can then go and teach their sisters in every part of the country? I think it must be done by some people who have the means and who have the courage to do so. I tried this very thing, and proposed to do this work in India before I left my country, and spoke of it to a great many of my countrymen in various cities. Of course, in being introduced to the public by some good friends in Calcutta, I was introduced to the men, — the public in India doesn't mean any thing but men (laughter), — and the men came and heard me speak. Some people said it was very good; others wanted to find fault; and others came with a curiosity, and said, "This is a man disguised; we do not believe she is a woman." (Laughter.) They could not at all believe me, that I was trying to do any thing for my countrywomen. And they showed that the law was against education for women, and the public sentiment, of course, was; and then we had to depart from the law and from the public sentiment too. And I found a great many friends among the so-called enlightened people, and they said they would like every thing I proposed, only they had no power. Others said, "We have the means, we will help you; but just show the result first, then we will help you." (Laughter.) But this is not possible, my friends. I am only a mortal woman. I have not the power of performing miracles, by any means.

I cannot produce the fruit before I sow the seed, and if my countrymen want me to do that I cannot do it.

And so I had to leave off the work, and go to England. My impression was that there were a great many people there, and that some would help me. But I tried it, and found that there are some people who will be very glad to help me, but they want me to do this work under a certain Church exclusively, so that its management may be in the hands of the high priests of the Church. But that I cannot do; it is beyond my power. And some other people say, "We will give you all the advice you need, but we won't give you any money." (Laughter.) Advice is a very cheap thing, and any one can give it. Even in India there are not a few people who can give me advice.

So I have been disappointed in England, and have come to this country. This is my third effort. I want to put this plan before the people of the United States, and try if I cannot get something from them. Perhaps there will be many who will tell me the same thing as the English people did, and will give me their advice, and will want me to work under certain churches; but, as I told them, I cannot do it for a great many reasons. First, I want to tell you that the Missionary Board in India is effecting a great deal of good, and, as I have told you, it is influencing public sentiment; and the people of India will by and by, I hope, give women education. And there are a great many orphanages established by the missionaries, which take children from different parts of the country, and bring them up to be women. Mrs. Butler told me that they had an orphanage, or, rather, a home for widows, in the north-western province. I did not know that. I am very glad they have, and I want the missionary societies to combine in their efforts to rescue these women, and establish such homes as they can. But the present need of woman in India is education; and you cannot give woman in India a higher education, sufficient to make her a teacher, unless you also give her support. You will not have to support her after she is able to support herself; but it is the duty of all people who want to do any good at all, to support her as long as she cannot do so for herself, and give her education.

And by giving her education you will make her powerful in the eyes of men. It is the men that you will have to encounter in India. We have literally to fight with them, — not by weapons, of course, but by our words. There are some women who are physically stronger than men, and they sometimes make their men obey them, instead of themselves obeying them; but it is not generally the case. (Laughter.) The women are smaller than the men, so we cannot fight them by physical means. We must fight them intellectually, and that cannot be done unless we have proper education; and, therefore, education is the greatest need of the women in India at the present time.

As I have told you, this can be done only by establishing such schools for widows. And here I am. I shall give to this work my whole life. That is what I intend to do. I do not know, of course, but to-morrow I may be doing something else; but at present I am resolved, and I ask God to give me the grace to keep this resolution, to give my whole life to do this work. I shall

go home, and work among my own people, visit the zenanas, and speak to the men. That is my part of the work. I cannot do any thing else. I cannot stay in one place, and teach the women. First of all, my deafness prevents me from being a teacher; and, next, I think there is a woman needed to go about and convert the men, and I shall be a missionary to the men (laughter), to teach them the doctrine of woman's education. Though they do not believe in women teachers, I shall be glad to teach them, whether they believe or not. But what we want now is teachers and a school, and the money to support the school and these teachers. I want to establish a home for widows when I go home, and take two women from this country who will be well-qualified teachers to work in this school for widows. I want to get hold of these widows, and teach them just as if they were children. And they really are children in one sense. They do not know how to read or how to write, and therefore we have to begin from the very first of the alphabet.

Moreover, I want to introduce the best educational system of this country into my own. There is, at the present time, a very good educational system established by the English government, but it is not exactly what we want. We want something that will be adapted to our country, our nature, and at the same time give us the best Western ideas. And I think I have studied the educational system of this country, as well as of England, and know what is most needed for these widows. And I will ask the women who go with me from this country to do as I think is best, and I shall ask the advice of a great many men who are learned, and will give me all the advice needed, in our country. If we were to do this work under the English government, of course we should have to adopt the educational system of the English people, you know. They think it is the best; but we do not think it is altogether the best, and we shall have to try another way. And so there we are estopped from taking any help from the government. The government will give us certain grants, but they are not large. These grants always enslave the people, and we are obliged to prepare our pupils according to what the university and inspectors dictate. I cannot do that. I want to do my best in introducing an educational system which will be especially adapted to our women and our children; and, therefore, I want to take two women with me from this country to start this school.

Now, I want you people of the United States to give me help for ten years at least. I hope in ten years' time to go to the enlightened men of India, and show them the results which they want so much to see before they will assist us. If I get any help from this country, I think I shall be able to do something. And if not, if I prove a worthless teacher, then I hope somebody else will rise, and take up this work and carry it on. But I shall have the satisfaction of having done my best. I can only try, I cannot do any more. All the substantial help which is needed now, I think, you people of this country will be able to give. The people of the United States are the best, the richest, and the wisest, as the author of "Triumphant Democracy" tells us. If they are the best and wisest people, and the richest, why, we expect the most from them.

And we ask you to give us this help regardless of religion, or of any of

your private convictions. What we want to do is to get hold of these Hindu women, and teach them. I cannot work under any religious society, because I cannot conform my creed to any particular denomination: therefore this prevents me from working under any religious society. There is a Union Missionary Society, or something like that, which is started under the zenana missionary system; and I might work under that denomination, or that society. But the missionary movements are already going on in all parts of India, and we shall have to try by another way. It is not by only one way that we reach the people, but there are different ways to reach them. I shall have to reach them from the purely educational side. Just as I came myself, so I wish to bring my sisters to study, and know for themselves and choose for themselves. It is not I who will put into their hearts a knowledge of what is right and what is wrong, but I leave this altogether to their own consciences and judgments. And I cannot think there are not women in our country who have judgments of their own and consciences of their own. They have. They have the Spirit to guide them, they have God to watch over them, they have their own consciences, and they will choose the right or the wrong. They are free beings, and they will do just exactly as their consciences tell them to do. My object is to reach them from the purely educational side, and put them in a position where they can be independent of men and of society, and act for themselves.

At present a woman has no right to express even her own wish. I have found many women, when I went to talk to them, who could not express what their wish was before men, or before any older people. One woman took me on the third story of her house, locked the door behind me, but only in a few words could she express what she felt. She said life was very hard. That was all she could say. She thought her experience very hard. She was locked up there. She had no education. She had not had the advantages I had had. She saw the difference between me and herself, and therefore she could feel what her wants were, and yet she could not express before men the opinion which she felt was true. Therefore, you see, they have not even the right, under the present system, of judging for themselves. What we shall have to do is to prepare the way so they can judge for themselves, and choose for themselves any thing that they will. And that cannot be done unless we give them proper education, and this is what we propose to do.

If you feel at all like giving any help, then I ask you to help us; and if not, I shall have the satisfaction of doing my best in asking you to help. If I were a woman of means, I would not have come here and asked you; but here I am. One mystery in the universe is, that the people who have the most desire to do good have the least means. So it is in our country, at least. Our rich men, and there are a great many rich people there, enjoy their riches just like the pussy-cats, who have their fish, and are content with them. They think nothing of their fellow-men, they do not do any thing for them; while the people who have the desire to do, have no means. I have a great many friends in Bombay who desire to do all they can to help forward this cause; and but one thing stops them, they have not the means. It is impossible for them to support the two teachers I wish to take from this country. A teacher from this country costs as much as a missionary. A

missionary is a self-sacrificing person who goes there regardless of comfort; and we shall have to get such a teacher as that, and the cheapest we can get that kind of a teacher for is about seven hundred dollars a year. Where shall I get the money? And, then, besides that I shall have to rent a school building; and then there is the doorkeeper, and there is a woman to sweep the house, and so you see every thing costs. There are a great many other things, and all are expensive.

Now, you will think this matter over yourselves, and consider and see whether you cannot do something for us in India. For me personally you need not do any thing. I have enough, but I want you to support these widows who have not the advantage of education and the acquaintance I have, until they can acquire it. I am a self-made representative of a hundred and twenty-two millions. Nobody has sent me here; I came of my own accord. And I beseech you to give us some help to begin education with. I do not ask you to carry this work all the time, and be responsible for hundreds of years, but just to begin. You are to begin this work, and then we will take care of ourselves, and be ready to work for ourselves. But to begin is the greatest thing, and we want to begin. Now, will you take these things into consideration, and do your best? (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN. What opportunity and what need are there for temperance work in India?

The PUNDITA. I have been a temperance woman all my life. I never signed any pledge, but I have been brought up to be a temperance woman from my earliest childhood. My parents were Brahmins, and therefore total abstainers. The religion of the Hindus forbids Brahmins to have any thing whatever to do with liquor. Within the last fifty years the liquor trade has been so much encouraged in India, that the natives see they must have temperance, or they will become a nation of drunkards through the encouragement of the government, which favors the liquor-trade everywhere because it wants to make money. The English people say they love India. I do not mean to say the whole nation,—there are a few people who do not love India from the standpoint of money,—but there are a great many people who do love India for what they can get out of her. They want to make money, and they are willing to make money in the worst kind of way possible by sending us liquor, and by sending opium from India to the Chinese. Our people are very loyal, and they have always been loyal to their kings. Of course they have not gone so far as to be republicans yet; but they will eventually, I hope. In kings and queens the Hindus see an incarnation of the deities themselves; and, therefore, whatever laws are enacted by the government, or by the king and queen personally, are taken as the divine laws. They are taken in the same way all over India, though there are some sceptical persons who protest against the laws with regard to liquor. But as the trade is encouraged, there are people who cannot stand the temptation, and they are taking to drink. And this curse has been brought on India, where already such bad treatment of women exists; and if in addition to that the liquor comes, there will be no end of mischief done, and it will fall chiefly, of course, upon the women and children. The men themselves suffer some, but still our women and children suffer most.

And, therefore, it is very necessary that the temperance movement should be started in India. A few years ago the missionaries, and also the Brahmin people, tried to get the government to discourage the liquor-trade on Sundays, if not on any other days. At first they were refused any hearing at all; and then there were some good people who were heard, but they could not effect any thing more. I think there are a great many Hindu men who see the evil of this liquor-trade, and who are trying to do something to stop it among themselves. Not many months ago I read in one of the papers, from my own part of the country, that some of the lower-class people, as well as the higher-class people, had been organizing temperance societies themselves in their own native fashion. The penalty was that the man or woman who violated the pledge should be punished by excommunication, and that is the hardest thing for a Hindu to bear. Some of the magistrates, however, thought this was taking liberty from the people, and, therefore, they ordered these temperance societies not to proclaim such a hard thing as this. They said, "Every individual has the right of eating whatever he likes; why should you condemn him?" Of course this is not said when the government wants to do any thing: this freedom of the people is not considered. But when it comes to temperance, the Government will advocate the freedom of every individual. That is the way we are treated.

I think there is the greatest chance for successful temperance work in India, — such a chance as there is nowhere else, — for the Mohammedans and the Hindus both, all the religious natives, are opposed to liquor of any kind, and they will support the ladies who go from this country. Of course there is a feeling among our people, that women cannot do any thing, but I think this is the best chance for a woman to show her ability. If women go through the country and preach temperance, the men will support them, and they will see what women can do; and it is through women that salvation will come to India, I have no doubt. I have heard that one of the temperance women is going around the world, and that she will go to India; and if she can reach the best men among the Hindus and Mohammedans, the very religious people, she will have the greatest chance for success in her work. Of course there will be exceptions to that. Those who are fond of liquor will not be interested in her; but I have no doubt that a great many men who oppose liquor will support her, and that her sisters here will feel it one of their first duties to send some temperance women to India to organize temperance societies there. Of course they will have to call them something beside Christian temperance societies, for the masses of the people are not Christians; they might call them temperance union societies simply. Although in this respect, however, they may be considered as Christian, if for nothing else than that they advocate temperance, for temperance is one of the principles of Christianity as I understand it.

I have been asked, "Did not the Saviour drink wine, and why should we despise it?" Some people speak of the Saviour drinking wine as if it were an essential doctrine of Christianity; but they well know that the Saviour sacrificed himself on the cross, and yet they are not going to sacrifice themselves, although they are willing to imitate the Saviour in drinking wine. I ask them if they will imitate Christ by going on the cross, when they say

any thing to me about drinking wine. And, again, they little know that the Jews did not use fermented liquor in their wines, but that they always used the simple juice, and not such wine as is now used in European countries. When they talk about this as if it were one of the essential doctrines of Christianity, and say, "Paul says, Use a little wine for your stomach's sake," I say, let them use it if their stomachs want it; but we do not want it, our stomachs are all right. (Applause and laughter.) They will do very well without wines and liquors. I think the temperance ladies will have a great opportunity for successful work in India, and the field is now opening for them. (Applause.)

Mr. Cook. What is your opinion of the movement led by Keshub Chunder Sen?

The PUNDITA. My opinion of the movement which was carried on by Keshub Chunder Sen and his successor now is that it is a very good thing. Of course you cannot find any thing faultless in this world. There are a great many holes in Keshub Chunder Sen's teachings, but you cannot expect to find any thing infallible. So far as I know, I think the movement very valuable; it is trying to purify the Hindu religion and the Hindu morals especially. And its chief effect, as far as I understand, has been favorable to the introduction of Christianity to the Hindus. At first the missionaries were not given a large hearing, because they were from a foreign land, and the masses did not take any interest in their work at all; but since Keshub Chunder Sen came and began to talk about it, and went among the educated Hindus as well as among the masses, they came to hear him, and gave him a good hearing, and in that way he has introduced Christianity to them in a very favorable manner. I think if they will carry on the movement, and by and by agree in starting a church, as they are doing now, they will be a very great religious body, and will develop into the most spiritual kind of a sect.

Of course I do not approve of all that they want. They want an agreement of the different religions, and to harmonize all creeds. They take some of the sacraments from the Hindu religion, some from the Christian, and some from the Buddhist. Of course we have had a great many sacraments already, and we do not want to introduce many more. What we want is the spiritual part of every religion; what is the best in every religion we want to know, and chiefly what Christianity is. If you examine the literature which has been spread abroad by the Brahmos in the last fifty years, you will find that it is of a spiritual and lofty tone of morality, and its rules and also almost all the books are taken from the New-Testament teaching. In that way the people have been introduced to Christianity. I do not see any reason why our Christian friends should not approve of this movement. It is certain ultimately to lead to a great result; I have no doubt about it.

Mr. Cook. What does the Pundita think of the effort to introduce Brahminism and theosophy into London and Boston?

The PUNDITA. A great many of my friends, I see, have found theosophy a great mystery, and I have found it the same thing. The essential doctrine of theosophy seems to me to be the mystery of unknown forces, and of the great miracles that adepts are able to perform in these days; it is purely philoso-

phy. Of course you know the mind of the Hindu people is inclined towards mystery. The mystic is very attractive to them, and they always incline towards philosophy; that is to say, that which they do not understand, they like to think they do. (Laughter.) I find these people not only in India, but in all parts of the world. I have heard a great many people in this very enlightened country talking of theosophy, and professing themselves to be great theosophists; but I did not see much of philosophy in them. The great doctrine of theosophy is to be selfish, and to take care of yourself, and to prefer your own comfort to that of any one else. Go to the mountains to make yourself comfortable; leave your wife and children to perish wherever they are, and do not support them; go to some country thousands of miles away, and teach the people there, and convert them to your theosophy. A great many people from our country are coming to this country to teach theosophy here. They have forsaken their wives and children, and they want you to do the same thing. Now, men of the United States, take care you do not go into theosophy and leave your children and your wives. The essential doctrine of theosophy appears to me to be nothing else but to be apathetic, to be free from pleasure and free from pain.

And then, theosophy, if it had any thing at all in it, would have done already much good. It has existed thousands of years in India, and what has it done? It has encouraged the degradation of womankind and of the whole nation. I hope the people in this country and in England are not so foolish as to put themselves into the same way as the Hindus have done, and give themselves to mysticism and to contemplation and to nothing else. That is theosophy, as far as I understand it. And if this movement goes on, and makes progress in this country, I shall think that the signs of the fall of this nation are already appearing. It is nothing else than philosophy with theosophy that has degraded our country; it makes the people idle, intolerant, and selfish, each individual caring for his own soul and nobody's else. It teaches regard for self, and not for one's neighbor.

Perhaps you learned people think that fairy-stories have nothing in them; but I am very fond of fairy-stories, and I like to read them, as I am not very learned; and I find a great many things in them that teach me. A book of Japanese fairy-stories is published in this country; and there is a story in it of a man who had been very industrious, very good to work from morning until night to support his wife and children, and give them a good home. But one day a beast came and taught him the mystic doctrine; and after that time he stopped his work, and just went on the mountain, and ate and drank as much as he wanted, and did not take care of his children, and his wife almost starved to death. I think, if the men of this country follow the teachers of theosophy, they will do just the same thing. I hope they are not so foolish. The other day a lady told me that when she heard one of the theosophists preach, she thought the teaching was so beautiful she almost wished she were a Brahmin. I think this very strange. I told her that it would be quite easy to wish she was a Brahmin in Boston, but it is not quite so easy to be a Brahmin in India. (Laughter.) If she happened to be a Brahmin in India, she would be a widow some time possibly, and then she might have to starve to death. Why should people want to be some-

thing else when they have such excellent things? Why should they like these philosophies which have done nothing for the world but to make men selfish? For one, I do not admire either these philosophies or theosophy; I have had enough of them, and of men who believe in theosophy, and do nothing else than talk. Talking has done no good to the world; it is work that has done every thing; and if you go into theosophy, you will be led to talk, and not to work. (Applause.)

REMARKS OF MRS. S. B. CAPRON, A QUARTER OF A CENTURY MISSIONARY IN MADURA, INDIA.

It is not necessary for me to say that I have listened with great interest to this representative of the dear women of India, who have a place in my heart and in my life that will ever abide. I wish to all the daughters of India, and particularly to the lonely widows, all the brightness they can have. But I must be true to my own convictions; I must be true to the Lord Jesus, and say that to the lonely widows of India, and to all who need our help and our comfort and our sympathy, we must carry the light of life, the light of the Lord. How many houses I have visited; and how many widows, whom I have found more open perhaps than any others to this longing for something better and brighter, have said to me as I passed out of the door, putting their hands upon their hearts, "Pray that it may be light in here"! Now, let us in all our efforts for India remember that the Light of the world is He who will make India's daughters like the King's daughters, and make them the brightest and the fairest workers in their far-off land. He himself will work with them, and He himself will say to them, "O woman, great is thy faith! Be it unto thee as thou wilt."

THE HIGH-CASTE HINDU WOMAN.

The Pundita Ramabai's new volume, entitled "The High-Caste Hindu Woman," and published June 1, 1887, is a powerful presentation of the infelicities of child-marriages and enforced widowhood in India. The book is admirably written. It contains photographic portraits of Ramabai and of her kinswoman Dr. Joshee, whose recent death at Poona, after completing her medical education in Philadelphia, has brought to a most pathetic close a career which had been the subject of many high hopes. The volume is enriched by a clear and full biographical introduction by Rachel L. Bodley, A.M., M.D., Dean of the Woman's Medical College of Philadelphia. The proceeds of the sale of this book, which is sent postpaid on receipt of price (\$1.25) by the Pundita Ramabai, 1,400 North 21st Street, Philadelphia, will be devoted to the support of her proposed educational scheme.

WOMAN IN NEW JAPAN.

BY THE REV. C. S. EBY OF TOKIO.

AT any time, a study of the social position and circumstances of woman in Japan would be of interest as a contribution to comparative sociology; but a special interest attaches thereto at the present time, because of the revolution going on in woman's world within the empire, and the amazing impulse lately given to female education along lines of Western usage in which a good deal of evil is mixed with, I trust, a very great deal more of good.

The position of women in Japan has always been very much superior to that in any other Oriental country. Physically they are slightly under the average size of their Western sisters, the better classes comely in shape and features, tastefully attired, and with the easy, graceful manner of inborn politeness polished by a careful etiquette of the olden school. They have no cramped feet as in China; no hideous nose-rings, ear-rings, wasp waists, as in several barbarous lands. They have never been kept in semi-seclusion as in Korea, or in prison apartments as in India, but have always had almost as much freedom of social intercourse within certain bounds as their Western sisters of the better class. As a rule, they have not worn ornaments of any kind excepting varieties of *kanzashi* or hair-pins; their vanity expending itself on the color and arrangement of their flowing robes, their *obi* or sashes, and silk folds over the breast. And then there are the black teeth and shaven eyebrows! These latter, among Christians and the better class of people, are going rapidly out of fashion.

The legal position of woman in Japan has been regulated entirely from the Oriental standpoint. While in the West the unit contemplated by the law is the individual, that contemplated by Oriental law is the family. The family is represented by the husband and father: he is directly dealt with; his wife and children indirectly, simply as appurtenances and property. In olden times woman had no legal rights whatever, had no appeal to the law under any circumstances. Her marriage was a purely private piece of business of the husband, and divorce entirely a matter of his choice. Legislation took no notice of her, excepting for political purposes. It was necessary to prevent political combinations of powerful families in feudal times, which combinations might be cemented by intermarriages. Hence there were very strict laws with regard to the marriage of nobles: in every case the consent

of the ruler had to be obtained, or a serious penalty would be risked. In order to maintain the feudal system intact, the intermixture of different social grades had to be prevented. Hence exceedingly strict laws were passed prohibiting the intermarriage of the upper and lower classes. Adultery on the part of the man was no crime whatever: on the part of the woman, it was an offence punishable in any manner the husband might choose.

After the revolution in 1868, all these restrictions were removed, and every one was perfectly at liberty to choose a wife from any social grade whatever. The distinctions of the social strata had never become such an incubus as caste in India; and the blending of all into one class, with only the distinctions that naturally arise, is rapidly going on. It was a boon to many an impetuous Samurai after the revolution, when his occupation was gone, to be able to marry the daughter of some rich farmer or merchant, where the prestige of blood would gain him admittance, and the dollars would make life under the new régime bearable to himself, and perhaps give him a vantage-ground from which to rise in the altered circumstances, and still further better his fortunes.

In the olden time a husband might cast off his wife, and leave her to starve; he could marry again, but she could not unless he gave her a legal divorce. Hence often, in spite, the legal divorce was refused, and the poor woman if she married was liable to severe punishment and persecution. In 1870 a law was passed making marriage a public matter requiring a license, or notification at least, beforehand, and registration afterwards. In 1873 legislation gave the discarded woman the right to sue for a divorce under the protection of father or brother or other near relative, thus relieving her of the great hardship of being bound to a man who was in no way bound to her. Certain rights of property were also accorded her, at all events, until she married again.

The only slavery recognized in Japan was that of girls and women sold for immoral purposes. They became the chattels of brothel-keepers. Men could sell their wives and daughters to such a life, and there was no appeal any more than in the case of the sale of a horse or cow. In theory at least, a great advance has been made; a law now makes such transactions illegal, unless the victim is a consenting party. It is the beginning of better things, but for immediate practical value it labors under the weight of a thousand years of custom and education which have aimed at making the woman wholly obedient to the man. In spite of all these disadvantages, by native tact and ability, women have from time to time come to the front. Japan never tires of the memory of the conquering Empress Jiugo, and a considerable number of women's names figure conspicuously amongst the celebrated authors and artists of old Japan. Story-books and but a slight acquaintance with ordinary life show that "petticoat rule" never has been and is not now a very rare thing in Japan.

With regard to the education of women, of course much was left to be desired. The haughty Samurai monopolized the leisure and the learning of the land. To woman was relegated a course that would minister to the pleasure of the man. Easy reading, music, singing, a very narrow range of writing, a knowledge of domestic affairs, and ability to shampoo properly,

comprised the highest curriculum of woman's learning. In this matter Japan had largely copied the teaching of the Chinese sages. Rules and customs and traditions had gradually become fixed; and in 1720 Kaibara, a famous author, condensed the whole in his "Women's Great Learning," which has ever since been the classic on the subject, the unquestioned law for women in Japan.

The substance of the "Great Learning" is as follows: When a woman is married, she must be entirely subject to her husband's parents, submitting patiently to them in all things, no matter how harshly they may treat her. She must obey them rather than her own parents. So important was this, that Confucius held that impertinence to father-in-law or mother-in-law on the part of the wife was an imperative cause for divorce. Then follow some good moral precepts: that she must be true and faithful; must make home attractive, and show no jealousy towards the husband; if he is bad, she may gently reprove him; if he is angry, she must wait till he cools, and then she may speak kindly to him; she must never lose her temper or speak violently. Then follow details of toil: she must rise early, retire late, and never sleep in the day-time; she must look well after household affairs, and spend her spare time in weaving, spinning, and sewing. Then come long details of domestic economy: she must never go out without leave, and under forty years of age must not go to frequented shrines and temples, nor often visit her parents, but rather communicate with them through messengers. Lastly the work contains disquisitions on the inferiority of woman, so as to keep her humble and in her proper place: for in seven or eight cases out of ten women suffer from the mental diseases of disobedience, anger, resentment, evil speaking, jealousy, and lack of intellect; hence they must in all things consult and defer to the intelligence of their husbands. Obey, obey, — the changes were rung on that one string from childhood, so that she knew her fate from the start, and meekly bowed to the yoke as a simple matter of course, knowing no alternative.

In tracing, in practical social life, the outcome of these legal principles and educational conditions, one would expect to find greater hardships than actually do appear. In some places, when a female child was born, she was kept for three days under the floor, as of the earth earthy; while the male child was kept above, as of the heavens, heavenly. The legal and educational inferiority of woman has certainly had its legitimate effect in giving her, as a whole, a low social standing in Japan. And yet native gentleness and not infrequent love on the part of the men, together with tact and common-sense on the part of the women, tend largely to ameliorate the ills resulting therefrom. In the absence of a law to protect, traditional customs often stronger than legislation come in to protect the woman and the home. So that, although the dark results that naturally arise from such a state of affairs become more apparent the longer one is in contact with the home-life of the people, a very large amount of the charm and romance, as well as of steady home comfort, also becomes more and more apparent.

The marriage customs of the olden time are becoming rapidly modified. Young Japan rebels at having all that arranged by papas and mammas and middle-men; and the older people are gradually giving way. Only one wife

is legal, but concubines are allowed, and their children are recognized as legitimate. The wife is mistress in her house, next the husband, over domesticities and children, and has her place in the family council. The concubine has only the rights of a servant, which means none at all, not even over her own children: they are the representatives of the master, and she only his servant to serve him and them.

These three things — deprivation of legal rights; education to the idea of absolute command on the part of the man, and unquestioning obedience on the part of the woman; and a division with other women of her husband's attention and affection — have had their legitimate effect in degrading the moral tone of womanhood, and of making our high ideal of a Christian home impossible, and in the lower walks of life reducing woman often to the level of a slave. This result is everywhere largely modified by the better sense of the people; and, what is a matter of great thankfulness, these customs and laws are not deemed an unalterable finality, but in this, as in every thing else in Japan, the influence of Christianity will speedily be widely felt.

When Japan first opened her gates to foreign intercourse, for many years but little attention was paid to the betterment of the position of the women. They were not wholly neglected; a normal school for women was opened under the auspices of the Empress, and other efforts were made on their behalf: but in comparison with what was being done for young men and for the general revolution of the type of civilization, all that was done was a mere bagatelle. It was also felt that without lady teachers but little could be done, and the fear was generally felt that schools conducted by foreigners would unfit the girls for the duties of a Japanese home. So that when the mission schools for girls were first started, it was with considerable difficulty that they were supplied with scholars. Gradually men who had been abroad, and those who came in contact with the homes of Christian foreigners, began to wish for a better home-life, and gradually came to recognize the need of a better education for the women. The ladies were encouraged to open schools and gradually met with greater success.

One of the means by which the incrustation over the social life of the higher classes was broken was a large bazaar in aid of a charity hospital, under the patronage of the highest people of the empire, and where princesses and countesses served as saleswomen. The effort had a happy effect, and has been repeated. About the same time a rage for dancing began, and the old reserve which kept the women in the background or merely spectators was rudely broken. The social demands of diplomacy, which are as exacting as political schemes, gradually brought the representatives of Japan's highest society to meet the representatives of the West in Western fashion by means of suppers and balls and all the performances of high life. All this demanded a change in the apparel of the ladies, at first simply for such occasions, and then as a permanency. The tendency rapidly grew into a rage, and during the last year has reached such proportions as to have become a revolution. The silent fiat has gone forth, that the families who can afford it are to live in Western fashion. Advanced men must have advanced wives and advanced homes. The tailors and dressmakers are doing a roaring trade; and a great opportunity lies open before the foreign women here who have the language,

to help their Japanese sisters to a knowledge of Western home-life. A large class of educated men has grown up who have started housekeeping, who wish to entertain each other; but the woman of the house knows nothing about Western entertainment, and the men have apparently a refuge only in the public inn, where an expensive feast is indulged in, dancing-girls are introduced, and the wives stop at home. They cry for help in this matter; and as one result the women's schools are now crowded to overflowing with daughters from the best families, many of whom must be taught to eat and dress in foreign style. An appeal has come to me from an inland town, that will represent the demand of the hour: a man and his wife are asked for at a fixed salary, the man to teach English in a school, the lady to teach women how to dress and keep house.

One of the most gratifying facts in connection with the whole affair is, that they are turning to mission schools for this purpose, not simply because of the convenience, but because they feel the need of a Christian moral training for their women. Men who from high positions a short time ago derided Christianity as such, now recommend Christian education for the women of Japan. Not that they have learned to believe in Christianity for themselves; but knowing that old moral sanctions are dying or dead, and knowing that Christianity is the only available moral power of the present day, they want it for their women and children. Let it be so, any way so long as Christ and his gospel can be brought into contact with the future mothers and homes of the people.

It is not to be wondered at, if in this time of transition many a disadvantage should appear. Sometimes, in their efforts to wear Western dress, very strange costumes come into being; and the sweet graceful manner of the olden time seems to lose its modest charm in the awkward effort to imitate modern ways. It is to be hoped that the efforts of Christian schools and Christian ladies will aid in stemming the tendency towards foreign wines and ballroom dissipation which many seem to think inseparable from Western civilization, and will show themselves efficient in leading this people to appreciate above all things else the purity and holiness of a truly Christian home.

A statement made by the Empress to the wives of high dignitaries in Japan has had much to do with this movement. We here append the interesting document:—

“In ancient times the costume of the women of Japan consisted of an upper garment and a skirt. Following in the wake of the administrative reforms instituted in the period of Taikwa, in the reign of the Emperor Kōtoku, a specific style of court costume was fixed and established in the reign of the Emperor Jitō; while later, during the reign of the Emperor Genshō, the folding of the left side of the dress over the right side was prohibited. Still later, in the time of the Emperor Shōmu, a decree was promulgated throughout the empire ordaining that all women should adopt and wear a style of dress which had been established by law. The new costume consisted of an upper garment and a skirt; and in some cases women went to the length of wearing two skirts, an inner and an outer. This custom, however, was afterward prohibited by statute. Thus, until the Middle Ages, the

women of this country, both in cities and in the rural districts, continued to wear a skirt, which was generally of a scarlet color. But about this period dissensions arose among the members of the imperial family, as to the succession; and, a northern and a southern court being formed, the country was for a long time the scene of civil discord and warfare. Under such circumstances our women were compelled by necessity to content themselves with only one upper garment. Once established as a custom, this style of dress continued long after the conditions that had prompted its introduction ceased to exist; the skirt being dispensed with, and the upper garment simply lengthened to cover and protect the lower limbs. In recent years, since the period of Yenpō, the width of the belt was gradually increased until the costume as a whole has assumed its present form. But a dress consisting only of an upper garment, and destitute of a skirt, is manifestly imperfect, and ought to be supplemented in some way on the lines of the ancient costume of Japan. Moreover, civilization has reached a stage never yet attained in the past history of this country, and every thing seems to point to the necessity of reviving the old 'standing etiquette' of the Naniwa Court, for it is evident that the sitting form of etiquette can no longer hold its place in society. If we examine the dress of Western women, we find that it, like the old dress of Japanese women, consists of both upper garment and skirt, and, further, that not only does it lend itself readily to the requirements of the 'standing etiquette,' but also affords every facility and ease for changes of posture and for the movement of the limbs. It is, therefore, only right and proper that we should borrow suggestions from the Western style in order to the improvement of our clothing. But, in endeavoring to bring about this costume reform, there is one consideration that ought to receive very special attention; and that is the necessity of utilizing, as far as it is at all possible, the fabrics manufactured and the materials produced in this country. If the products of our own land are properly made use of, then the reform in question will certainly tend to impart a powerful stimulus to the progress of manufactures and of the fine arts in Japan, while at the same time it will confer no inconsiderable benefit on merchants and others. It may therefore be expected confidently to be productive of good in many respects other than the mere improvement of the costume of our women. Passage from an old into a new order of things, as in this case, cannot fail to be attended by great and in many instances needless expenditure of money; but if due care be exercised, if the wearer's expenses are kept proportionate to her means, and if simplicity is always preferred to extravagance, I think it will be possible to attain the object hoped for without undue lavishness. These are my sentiments and my hopes in reference to this reform in the costume of Japanese women."

THE PROGRESS OF PROHIBITION IN CANADA.

BY J. MACDONALD OXLEY OF OTTAWA.

I.

THE Dominion of Canada has not failed to share in the marked and rapid advance in temperance sentiment which has honorably distinguished so many Anglo-Saxon countries during the past forty years. Few communities, indeed, have so good, and none, it may be safely ventured, a better showing, to make in this regard. Forty years ago, the use of spirituous liquors was as general and uncondemned, as to-day it is exceptional and subject to adverse comment. When the middle-aged men of to-day were school-boys, the decanter occupied an honored place upon their father's sideboard, and was rarely absent from the dinner-table. Now, if permitted in the house at all, it is kept carefully under lock and key, and only produced when the boys are safely out of the way. Forty years ago, no self-respecting parishioner would think of permitting the pastor to call without partaking of the best wine in the cellar; to-day no self-respecting parishioner would think of insulting his pastor by offering him that which he knew was abhorrent to him. Forty years ago, two friends could hardly pass the evening together without disposing of a bottle or two apiece; to-day great gatherings of men for convivial purposes take place where nothing stronger than good coffee, or more "beady" than clear, sparkling ginger-ale, is to be found upon the festal board. And so on through almost every phase and sphere of life. There has not been merely change. There has been revolution. So far as drinking is concerned, the habits of our grandfathers have been altered out of all knowledge, and the social atmosphere purified of the miasma which had so long made it foul and poisonous. The relation of how all this has come about, while embodying, no doubt, much that is common to the advance of temperance thought and sentiment in other countries, yet will be found to be not without distinctive features of its own; and in presenting a survey of the progress accomplished by the prohibition movement in Canada, I will seek to bring out into relief these distinctive features in the hope that they may possibly afford a suggestion or an argument to other workers.

Writing, as I am, for an American periodical, it is pleasant at the outset to be able to ascribe our earliest movement in the direction of stamping out the liquor traffic, to American example and influence. From almost the beginning of Canadian history, it is true, the selling of spirituous liquors was put under some sort of restraint; and the fathers of the Church struggled

hard and long with the traders who were so enterprising and determined in carrying on a business that was cursing pale-face settler and red-skinned native alike, and going far to render nugatory the heroic labors of the devoted missionaries of the cross. But it was not until the French *régime* had been succeeded by the British, and the early disciples of English teetotalism, bringing their new teachings across the ocean, were re-enforced by kindred spirits from the south, bringing with them their peculiar institutions and methods, — Washingtonians, Sons of Temperance, Good Templars, and the like, — that the interest and sympathy of the people were in any degree enlisted. The first practical outcome of the improved state of public opinion thereby brought about was a restrictive license system, which was to be seen at its best in the Province of Nova Scotia, where, indeed, it, in some counties, amounted to actual prohibition so far as the sale of intoxicants went. In this Province, in order to obtain a license to sell liquors, a petition in favor of the applicant, signed by two-thirds of the rate-payers of the district interested, had to be presented; and in some counties this had the virtual effect of outlawing the traffic, so that there were cases where no licenses had been granted for ten, fifteen, or twenty years, while Yarmouth County enjoyed the proud distinction of having granted no licenses for forty years.

For the first real prohibitory law, however, we must turn to New Brunswick; and it needs only a glance at the map to see the immediate neighborhood of this Province to Maine, and a comparison of dates to suggest, what is the fact, that the example of Maine was contagious, and that she must be given due credit for the result. The Maine Prohibitory Law was enacted in 1851. About 1855 its enforcement became general; and the same year the New Brunswick Legislature, moved thereto chiefly by the eloquence and persistence of its framer and introducer, Mr. (subsequently Sir Leonard) Tilley, passed a law prohibiting the manufacture, importation, and sale of every intoxicating beverage except for medicinal or mechanical purposes. Unfortunately, as the sequel showed, the Act was premature. Public opinion was not yet prepared for so radical and drastic a measure, and before it could be put into execution a revulsion of feeling took place. It was made the gravamen of a motion of want of confidence in the administration which had introduced it; the motion carried, the government went out of power, the Act was repealed; and although the following year saw Mr. Tilley in office once more, and as full of faith as ever in the need and value of prohibition, he did not again find his way clear to putting it upon the statute-book of his Province.

For some years thereafter the promoters of temperance addressed themselves to diminishing and curbing the scope and influence of the liquor-traffic by increasing the stringency of the license-laws, and seeing to it that they were faithfully and impartially enforced. At the same time the education of the public mind towards ultimate prohibition was kept steadily in view; and such progress was accomplished, that in 1864 the joint legislature of Ontario and Quebec passed an Act, popularly called the Dunkin Act, which was an undoubted step in advance. Its character was that of local option, as it gave counties and municipalities adopting it the power to refuse licenses either by a vote of the municipal council, or a *plébiscité*. Although at best an unwieldy and uncertain instrument, full of loop-holes for the crafty liquor-seller, and beset with technicalities, the temperance people accepted it gratefully as the first instalment of what they desired; and, thanks to their enthusiasm, it was carried by large majorities in town after town, and county after county.

In 1867 the confederation of the Canadian Provinces took place; and so soon as it became an accomplished fact, the temperance people turned their faces towards the Federal Parliament, and by appeal and petition — appeal as strong as it could be made, and petitions representing in 1873-74 some half-million of signatures — they demanded from it a complete prohibitory law for the whole of Canada. In order that the agitation might not slacken, and that its efforts be wisely directed, Prohibitory Leagues were organized in the different Provinces, nearly all of which displayed commendable activity, and the aggregate membership thus enrolled was very large. The Duncan Act had by this time so demonstrated its unsatisfactory character that no further interest was taken in it; and in 1874 the Federal Government authorized the appointment of two commissioners to make a thorough investigation into the working and results of prohibition in the United States. The Commissioners brought back with them a most valuable collection of facts and statistics altogether in favor of prohibitory as compared with license legislation; and their report, which was laid before Parliament at the commencement of the next session (1875), produced such an effect that the following resolutions were passed in the two Houses:—

Senate Resolution. — That the time has now arrived when the attention of the Government should be given to this important question, with a view to the introduction of a bill to prohibit the manufacture, importation, and sale of intoxicating liquors throughout the Dominion at the earliest possible date compatible with the public interest.

House of Commons Resolution. — That having regard to the beneficial effects arising from prohibitory liquor-laws in the States of the American Union, where the same are fully carried out, this House is of the opinion that the most effectual remedy for the evils of intemperance would be to prohibit the manufacture, importation, and sale of intoxicating liquors.

The latter resolution, as will be seen, was simply an abstract one, affirming an opinion, but giving no indication of any practical attempt to embody that opinion in an enactment. One reason for this, no doubt, was that the question of jurisdiction stood in the way of immediate action. It was a matter of much doubt, as to whether the Dominion or the Provincial legislatures had authority to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors; and this doubt hampered all efforts in the direction of prohibitory legislation in either local or general legislatures.

Fortunately no such doubt could exist as the vast North-West Territories which had been but lately acquired; and two years previous to this, Sir Charles Tupper had introduced and carried an Act which settled the matter in a very few words. It ran substantially as follows:—

“The sale, manufacture, or possession of intoxicating liquors in the North-West Territories is prohibited, except with the special written permission of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Territories.”

This law has upon the whole been rigorously carried out, the magnificent force of mounted police giving special attention to its fulfilment; and, it is needless to say, it has been and is productive of the very best results.

The temperance people, realizing that their policy now was to bring all their forces to bear upon the public mind that it might be educated up to the point of preparation for complete prohibition, felt the need of a more united and concentrated organization; and accordingly in 1876 there came into birth at Ottawa, the Dominion Alliance for the Total Suppression of the Liquor Traffic, of which the different Provincial Leagues already in operation constituted themselves local branches, sending representatives to the annual meeting which is held at Ottawa while the Parliament is in session. This

Alliance embraces the entire body of temperance workers, and is growing both in numbers and influence so rapidly and surely that the ultimate attainment of its beneficent object cannot be very far away.

During 1876 and 1877 no further Parliamentary action was taken, owing in large part to the reasons already stated; but by 1878 some judicial decisions had settled the question of jurisdiction, and made it clear that the prohibition of the liquor-traffic was *intra vires* of the Federal Parliament; and accordingly the temperance advocates demanded that action should be no longer delayed. Great and gratifying as had been the growth of temperance sentiment, it was still the judgment of the majority that the time had not yet arrived for a complete prohibitory law covering the whole Dominion. An intermediate course was therefore chosen; and in the session of 1878 the Hon. R. W. Scott introduced the Canada Temperance Act, popularly known as the "Scott Act," which after a full discussion was passed on a second reading without a division. This Act comprises all that Canada possesses in the way of prohibition at present; and as its importance requires that it should be somewhat minutely examined, and its history detailed, it will be better to pass it by for the present while we rapidly survey the leading incidents in the prohibition movement down to the present day.

The same year that was honorably distinguished by the passage of the Scott Act saw the inauguration in Canada of movements like the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and the Church of England Temperance Society, which rapidly assumed important proportions, the former showing particular activity, and success in propagation. The influence exerted by these and kindred forces upon society and public opinion is not to be calculated. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union has from the first devoted special attention to the spread of prohibition ideas; and enlisting, as it has done, the sympathy and support of ladies of the highest social position, its sure and solid growth forms one of the most cheering and gratifying phases of the history of temperance in Canada.

During the Parliamentary session of 1884, a resolution prepared by the Dominion Alliance was introduced by Professor Foster, M.P., who subsequently entered the cabinet as minister of marine and fisheries. It was in the following terms:—

"That this House is of the opinion that the right and most effectual remedy for the evils of intemperance is to be found in the enactment and enforcement of a law prohibiting the importation, manufacture, and sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes."

On the motion of Mr. White, who also some little time after became one of the cabinet, taking the important portfolio of minister of the interior, these significant words were added:—

"And this House is prepared, so soon as public opinion will sufficiently sustain stringent measures, to promote such legislation, so far as the same is within the competency of the Parliament of Canada."

A debate extending over several days ensued, and the question was most exhaustively examined, the result being that out of the 162 members present at the division, 122 voted in favor of the motion as amended, and only 40 voted adversely, all distinctions of party being for the time lost sight of, and the most determined antagonists finding themselves in agreement upon one subject at all events.

What remains to be said in reference to the progress of prohibition may now be summed up in a few sentences. At the time of writing, the country

is in the throes of what is in some respects the most critical and bitterly fought election contest that has taken place in the history of the Dominion. Although a large number of candidates in both the Conservative and Liberal interests have pledged their support to the cause of prohibition, the immediate introduction of legislation with that end in view has not been made a plank in the platform of either party. Neither have the prohibitionists thought it well (and in this they have done wisely) to organize a third party, and put forward candidates of their own. The fact of the matter is, that the still great strength and influence of the liquor interest, particularly at election times, and the lack of a general consensus of opinion as to the country being at this moment prepared for complete prohibition, have to a certain extent tied the hands of both politicians and prohibitionists; and, consequently, however the elections may result, the temperance cause will neither gain nor lose. Whether Conservatives or Liberals triumph, it is equally safe. In either event, whatever party seizes the reins of power, any sound and sensible measure that is brought before Parliament will have the cordial support of the temperance men on both sides of the House.

It is the hope and the belief of the writer, that the Parliament soon to be constituted will not fulfil its allotted term of five years without giving birth to a measure providing for a much fuller degree of prohibition than is now obtainable under the Scott Act. Just what that measure may be, it is impossible to predict, but it is surely coming. The temperance people were never more hopeful, determined, and active than they are to-day. Of this the splendid victory won by them at the municipal elections in Toronto, in January last, affords a brilliant illustration. The issue there was very clearly defined. Mr. Howland, the successful candidate for the mayoralty, represented the prohibitionist, labor, and reform interests, and, it need hardly be said, had the unanimous support of all the ladies, who under the municipal constitution enjoyed the privilege of a vote. His opponent had at his back the liquor men, the ringsters, the obstructionists generally. The contest was intensely exciting down to the very close, and enlisted, on either one side or the other, the interest of the entire community, so that the vote cast was the largest in the history of the city. The result was to give the liquor interest a blow that could hardly fail to convince it of the strength and majesty of the forces making for its ultimate overthrow. Mr. Howland, out of a total vote of 15,000, received a majority that exceeded 2,200. And not only so, but in a council containing thirty-six members he found he had twenty-two that fully shared his views. Such incidents as these tell their own story. When a great city like Toronto declares so unmistakably for prohibition, the splendid Province of which it is the capital will not be long in following its inspiring example; and when the premier Province has once come out squarely on this vital issue, her sisters in the Confederation will soon range themselves by her side, and then there will be prohibition, complete and impregnable, stretching like a rainbow of benediction across the entire Canadian continent.

II.

In the first portion of this paper it was promised, that, before concluding, the prohibitory measure at force in Canada at present, whose legal title is the "Canada Temperance Act of 1878," although it is universally called the "Scott Act" in honor of its introducer, would be described more fully than was convenient in the course of what was intended as an historical summary.

I will accordingly attempt to give, in as few words as possible, some idea of the history, nature, and results of the Scott Act.

Its history has in part been anticipated, and can be briefly told. Long before the confederation of the Provinces, the temperance people had come to the conclusion that something more than moral suasion was necessary to mitigate the multiplied evils of intemperance. In accordance with this conviction they had hedged the traffic round about with restrictive laws—license laws—of greater or less stringency, and in this way had done much to lessen the sale of strong drink, and diminish both the temptations to and the facilities for indulgence. But the traffic was so wide-spread, so strongly intrenched, and its terrible consequences so slightly diminished by these efforts, that the great majority of the temperance people came to see that in absolute prohibition lay the only complete remedy for the evil. Accordingly, so soon as the confederation became a fact, and the political machinery had got into good working order, they brought all their forces to bear upon the Federal Parliament, sending members pledged to support their views in the House, and pouring in petitions as thick as autumn-leaves, demanding prohibition for Canada. The Government of the day very properly replied to them: "We are not sure that the country is yet prepared for a prohibitory law, that the majority of the people really wish it, and would sustain us if we grant it. You already have the Dunkin Act, which is at least partial prohibition, and is available for the two Provinces of Ontario and Quebec. But you have not made much use of it. It is lying idle on the statute-book. Why call for more until you have thoroughly tried what you have? Show us by your votes that you can carry prohibition as embodied in the Dunkin Act; and if that does not work, than come back and ask for something better."

This very sensible challenge was accepted with spirit. Taking the Government at their word, the temperance people carried the Dunkin Act by large majorities in scores of places, thereby showing that there was a large proportion of the people in the districts polled who were in favor of the complete prohibition of the liquor-traffic. But, as has been previously stated, the Dunkin Act did not work well. It was cumbrous, complicated, and easily evaded by crafty dealers; so that after a fair trial the temperance people went back to Parliament, showed their majorities, and asked for a better instrument for the effecting of the great end they had in view. The Government and Parliament discussed the matter, recognized the justice of the claim, and after due and thorough consideration they framed the Canada Temperance Act, or "Scott Act," which came into force in May, 1878.

The Scott Act is not a complete prohibitory law; that, Parliament could not see its way clear to grant. But it is a local-option prohibitory law which may be called into operation in any county or city in Canada upon the majority vote of the people. The electors for the purposes of the Act are all persons qualified to vote at the election of a member of the House of Commons, a provision that might be much improved by extending it so as to include the women voters, who now have the suffrage in municipal elections. In order to bring the Act to a vote, a petition therefor must be signed by at least one-fourth the voters in the city or county, and forwarded to the Secretary of State, whereupon the petition is examined by the Governor-General in Council, and, if approved, official notice of a day for the election is given. The elections are held in precisely the same manner as elections for the House of Commons, and a bare majority of the votes polled, *not of the voters*

upon the electoral lists, is all that is necessary to secure the adoption of the Act; and then (most admirable provision) once it has been proclaimed in force, no vote can be taken for its repeal *within three years thereafter*. Now, what is it that the Scott Act does?

When the Act has been adopted, and proclaimed in force, the retail sale of all intoxicating liquors for use as beverages is at once and entirely stopped. All bars are closed, and no licenses therefor can be issued. The sale of alcoholic compounds is allowed for three purposes only, — medical, mechanical, and sacramental; and venders, not to exceed one in each township, two in each town, or one for each four thousand inhabitants in the cities, are appointed for this purpose. The conditions of sale under each of the above exceptions are very strict, and such as to effectually guard against any abuse.

The following parties are allowed to sell by wholesale, but only to the venders just mentioned, or *to such persons as shall carry their purchase beyond the limits of the city or county, or of any adjoining county or city which is under the Act*, viz. : manufacturers of cider, licensed distillers or brewers, companies incorporated to carry on the business of cultivating grapes and manufacturing wine therefrom, and persons exclusively engaged in the wholesale trade, and duly licensed. The smallest quantity which can be sold by wholesale is, for beer, eight gallons, and for all other liquors, ten gallons. Whenever cider, or distilled or malt liquors, are thus sold by those producing them, it must be at the place of manufacture; and in all the above cases the burden of proof lies with the sellers to furnish satisfactory evidence that the liquors sold were to be carried forthwith outside the limits of the county or city under the Act.

Obedience to the Act is enforced by the following penalties : For the first offence, a fine of not less than fifty dollars; for the second, a fine of not less than one hundred dollars; and for every subsequent offence, imprisonment in jail for a period not exceeding two months, without option of a fine. The prosecutions may be brought by any person, and before a stipendiary, or police magistrate, recorder, any two justices of the peace, sheriff, or commissioner of parish courts; and there is a provision which cannot be too highly commended, that no appeal shall be allowed from any conviction, judgment, or order of any of the judicial authorities just mentioned, except the justices of the peace. The practical immunity which, under other enactments, the liquor-dealers have been able to win for themselves by virtue of incessant and wearying appeals and cross-appeals, is thus put out of their reach in a very large degree, and every encouragement afforded the temperance people to carry on their work.

From the preceding review of the Scott Act, which, though brief, is sufficiently complete to give a fair idea of its main provisions, it will be seen that it possesses the following advantages:—

It recognizes the right of a community to protect itself, and administer its own affairs in a matter that more than any other concerns its welfare and prosperous development.

It takes the whole question out of the range of party politics. The issue presented to the people is simply “prohibition” or “license,” free from any complications of men or measures. The reef upon which so much excellent temperance legislation in the United States has been wrecked is, therefore, happily avoided.

It carries with it the best thought and feeling of the people, for it has the

advantage of a thorough discussion before the electorate. It is canvassed in all its bearings before it is adopted.

Finally, It provides the best practical solution for the difficulties based upon the question of revenue, the rights of manufacturers and dealers, and the habits of the community, as, requiring some time to be put into force, and being gradual in its operation, it brings about the new order of things without undue and unfair precipitancy.

Only one question more remains to be answered, and this paper may be brought to a conclusion. *How has the Scott Act been received by the people?*

Here are the figures:—

The Province of *Ontario* has thirty-eight counties and ten cities, of which twenty-five counties and two cities have already adopted the Act, and in five counties and three cities agitation has been started in its favor. *Quebec* has fifty-six counties and four cities, five counties of which have adopted the Act. *Nova Scotia* has eighteen counties and one city, of which thirteen counties have adopted the Act. *New Brunswick*, fourteen counties, four cities, of which ten counties and two cities are under the Act. *Manitoba*, five counties, one city, and two counties under the Act. *Prince Edward Island*, three counties, one city; and as all of these have adopted the Act, this Province is entitled to hold the banner, — while *British Columbia* with five counties, none of them under the Act, is the black sheep of the whole flock. In all there have been one hundred and fourteen elections, and out of these the temperance people have won ninety-three by majorities ranging from 3,400 to 13, the total popular majority so far exceeding 50,000; which fact, combined with the other, that there have been only seven repeal contests sought for, and that in every one of these the Act has been sustained, shows as clearly as could be desired the estimation on which the Act is held, and the state of the public mind in reference to prohibition.

That the "Scott Act" should ever come to be adopted in every county and city in Canada, is probably more than can be expected. Yet until it is, the work of the temperance people is unfinished. Even though it were, however, it would hardly afford complete protection, as in some districts it would be much less rigorously enforced than in others, and those districts would be sources of danger.

This is accordingly a growing conviction in the minds of the temperance people, that nothing less than prohibition pure and simple, complete and unsparing, will meet the case. This, then, they are determined to have; and this they will have, in due time, just so surely as any other reform has been obtained in the history of the world's progress.

OTTAWA, Feb. 22, 1887.

XI.

SCRIPTURAL AND SPECULATIVE STANDARDS OF ORTHODOXY.

A DISCOURSE ON THE RESULTS OF THE MEETING OF THE
AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN
MISSIONS AT SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS,
OCTOBER 4-7, 1887; DELIVERED IN PARK
STREET CHURCH, BOSTON, SUNDAY
EVENING, OCTOBER 23, 1887.

BRITISH PROPOSALS TO AMERICA CONCERNING ARBITRATION.

A SPEECH AT TREMONT TEMPLE, BOSTON, NOVEMBER 5.

"The resolute refusal of the creeds of Christendom to own relationship with the theory of probation after death, or stretch their protecting wings over it, is surely a distinct and swift witness against its legitimacy and worth. . . . It has gained recognition in no creed of Christendom from the earliest ages down to our own time. . . . The symbolism of the Church, ancient and modern, Greek and Roman and Protestant, has arrayed itself distinctly and invariably against this opinion. . . . It is from Protestantism, and Protestantism in its most elevated and spiritual forms, that the dogma receives its most decisive condemnation. . . . The attempt to introduce this dogma into the accepted creeds of Christendom would require not only a reconstruction of these creeds at many vital points, but, in fact, an abandonment or extensive modification of some of their most essential doctrines, — a new theology thus growing into confessional form, not by the development and expansion of preceding confessions, but on their ruins, or through such revolutionary transmutations, as would leave but little else than the fragments of the Old Faith." — PROFESSOR E. D. MORRIS: *Is there Salvation after Death?* pp. 153, 154.

"In most minds, the fact that the Master said nothing about any future opportunities, with the intensity of his appeals for immediate repentance, and the solemn urgency of his imperative command for instantaneous missionary effort, will make the theory of such future opportunities appear quite incredible. . . . Of course, none would have earnest thinkers dealt with roughly, with suspicion of their intent, or with rash harshness; while all must equally agree, without doubt, that if any finally cease to set forth the truth which the Board has sent them to declare, they must also cease to use its funds and avail themselves of its equipment. The natural instinct of honor in themselves would undoubtedly be sufficient to secure this." — The Rev. RICHARD S. STORRS, D.D., LL.D.: *Letter of Acceptance of the Presidency of the American Board.*

"Sunt duo genera decertandi: unum per disceptationem; alterum per vim; illud proprius est hominis, hoc belluarum." — CICERO: *De Officiis*, Lib. II.

"I look forward to an epoch when a court recognized by all nations will settle international differences." — GENERAL GRANT: *Address to Pennsylvania Peace Society.*

SCRIPTURAL AND SPECULATIVE STANDARDS OF ORTHODOXY.

JOHN V. 28, 29. — "*Marvel not at this: for the hour cometh, in which all that are in the tombs shall hear the voice of the Son of man, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done ill, unto the resurrection of judgment.*"

IT is a great and solemn joy for me, my friends, to speak in defence of the most vital principles of the evangelical faith, in a church which has always been faithful to them, and which has for its pastor an Abdiel, whose predecessor was an Abdiel. In the history of American Congregationalism, the present is a serious and in some respects an unprecedented hour. A great and majestic and benignant teacher, an almost perfect man, Mark Hopkins, is in his grave. Henry Ward Beecher, patriot, reformer, preacher, enigma, is in the house not made with hands. In this city a princely merchant, a tried and true friend of missions, has gone to his reward; and on the other side of the globe his Japanese son, Joseph Neesima, is accomplishing results which will carry forward to many generations the memory of Alpheus Hardy. A civilian greatly honored in this Commonwealth, Gov. Washburn, was snatched by death from the very platform of the American Board at Springfield. Since that meeting separated, there has ascended on high the man who was elected to deliver the next annual sermon before the Board; that holy poet-preacher of Hartford, — Dr. Burton. The leaves that fall rustling through the autumnal night-wind on the Common yonder symbolize these falling leaves of the tree Igdrasil, and admonish us to

work while the day lasts, for the night cometh in which no man can work. The time has come to speak over these open graves, a solemn word that may take root and spring up in every man's conscience.

God grant that we may adopt no opinions, old or new, that encourage men in the delay of repentance!

Vital orthodoxy denies, and a devitalized orthodoxy asserts, that it may sometimes be safe for a man to die in his sins.

The evangelical faith asserts, and unevangelical speculation denies, the universal necessity of repentance in this life.

Scriptural standards of orthodoxy affirm, and certain new speculative standards deny, that we are all to be judged by the deeds done in the body.

The teaching of vital orthodoxy has always been, that decisive probation is confined to this life; a devitalized orthodoxy assumes that the chief field of decisive probation lies beyond death.

The new speculative standards of orthodoxy, therefore, on a plainly fundamental issue, are the opposite of the Scriptural standards. The new are exactly contradictory of the old. They are more than new. It is perfectly fair, it is in no sense extravagant, to say that they are revolutionary.

For one, I am not prepared to skip the Scriptures, and still less to play fast and loose with them.

What is legal? What is expedient? What is Scriptural? These three distinct questions cross and recross each other like entangled vines on the trellis-work of our discussions concerning Andover and the American Board. It will be found that the whole debate turns on the last inquiry, and that only the Scriptural is the expedient, or ought to be the legal.

Five years, a long period in our alert modern days, have now been given to an American discussion of a devitalized orthodoxy. All sides have been freely heard. Except one, not a theological seminary in the land teaches the hypothesis of probation after death. Not an evangelical church has in-

corporated that theory into its statement of faith. As judged by loss of prestige and patronage, the one seminary which teaches the new theology must be said to have been nearly ruined. One of its professors has been dropped from the Prudential Committee of the American Board. He has been deposed from his seminary chair, on the charge of a perversion of its funds. Theologians have spoken out against the new form of devitalized orthodoxy; evangelists have spoken out; missionaries have spoken out; the religious press, with the exception of only two or three eccentric journals, has spoken out. Twice in national assemblies, after the fullest debate, the American Board has spoken out. We may well raise the question, What hath God wrought? At the last meeting of the American Board, what results were reached for which we should offer devout thanks to Divine Providence?

1. The standards of advanced ethical science have been maintained, in opposition to those of a sentimental and unscientific liberalism.

There is a great difference between the German and the American use of a mere hypothesis. If a windmill is built in German speculation, it may whirl in empty air for generations, and not be dangerous; but if a windmill is built by or imported into American speculation, it is at once set to grinding grists, which the people are expected to consume. The American mind is practical as well as speculative. It sets what it supposes to be truth at work at all hazards. A windmill is not used here merely to amuse the eye and ornament landscape: it must grind meal. The hypothesis of future probation may make little disturbance in Germany; but here it must be put into power over newspapers, churches, theological halls, great trust funds, the American Board itself, and missions extending to the ends of the earth.

Daniel Webster in his advanced years was physically injured by a fall from a carriage of which the king-bolt was broken. After this accident he had all the front axles of his wagons fastened to the parts above them by chains and stays,

so as to avoid all danger. The chief mischief of the new speculation is that it has lost the king-bolt of a sound theodicy, and so thinks that a new and cumbrous arrangement of chains and stays and braces is necessary for the justification of God's ways to men. The king-bolt of a sound philosophical theodicy is conscience, or man's responsibility to the moral law, revealed in every age and nation to every responsible soul, and making even the heathen, who have not the law, a law unto themselves, so that they are, as the apostle affirms, without excuse. Dr. William M. Taylor said in the debate at Springfield, — and no one questions the soundness of his evangelical faith, — “Light is the measure of responsibility; and *wherever there is light, from the beginning until now, there is Christ.*” Dr. Behrends said, “Wherever there is light, there is Christ.” This is the doctrine of salvation through character, or through implicit faith, or by what I have ventured to call the essential Christ, without a knowledge of the historic Christ. This scientific and scriptural truth concerning conscience, the new speculation undervalues, minifies, overlooks, and sometimes seems to have completely lost. Shutting its eyes to what God has done for all men by the gift of conscience, and the illumination of the omnipresent Light which is the essential Christ, the new speculation is unable to construct a theodicy, except by the use of the theory of probation after death. The king-bolt is lost; and, therefore, a novel and cumbrous use of chains and stays seems necessary for the philosophical axletree. The king-bolt of a Biblical theodicy is the first chapter of Romans and its correlated passages. Of this the New Departure has lost sight, and so the exegetical axletree also must be tied with chains to what it carries. The remedy for all this mischief is to find the king-bolt, and place it where it belongs; and this the American Board has done at Des Moines and Springfield.

All history is against the central contention of the New Departure, that human character is allowed to attain final permanence only in connection with a knowledge of the historic Christ.

It is indisputable, that without a knowledge of the historic Christ, character, to all appearance, does now attain, and in every past age has attained, final permanence under the action of the fixed natural laws of the self-propagating power of habit, and the responsibility of the will to conscience for every choice.

We are to interpret what God says in his word by what we know that he actually does in his providence.

It is actually true that all character under natural law tends to final permanence. All souls, therefore, are under probation until that permanence is reached.

It is self-evident that a final permanence can come but once.

Whatever brings character to an unchanging bent, or final permanence, ends probation.

The soul that drifts into final permanence of evil character falls into eternal sin.

If sin continues forever, its punishment will continue forever.

There are hells in this world under natural law; but natural law is God's law. Why should there not be hells in the next world under natural law? Plato said the laws of the next world are brothers to the laws in this. The mystery of evil is not that sin once begun should continue forever: the mystery is that it should ever begin. It has begun, and yet we believe that God is good. It may continue forever, and the proof yet be perfect that God is good. If sin, with its attendant evils, may continue for an indefinitely long period in the history of the universe, as we know it has, and God yet be justified, no man is wise enough to say that evil may not continue forever and God yet be justified. If evil continuing forever is a great impeachment of God's goodness, then evil continuing for an indefinitely long time is, at least, a small impeachment; but evil has continued for an indefinite period already, and yet no man dares impeach God's goodness. He is as incapable of doing a small wrong as a great.

Facts not fancies, but the facts must be all the facts, — this

is the only safe watchword of faith or science, no matter how much sentimental feeling fosters the fancies or obscures the facts.

These are the facts of the actual moral government of the world as we see it, and perfectly accordant with them is the voice of the Holy Scriptures. The fundamental objection to a lax, molluscan interpretation of Scripture in regard to eschatology is that Scripture is in full agreement with Nature, so far as the latter speaks on this high theme; and Nature does not suffer herself to be long misinterpreted with impunity. Nature is not as luminous, but, to the full extent of the light it gives, it is as orthodox, as Scripture. Margaret Fuller Ossoli, as Carlyle one day was told, said that she "accepted the plan of the universe." "She had better," was Carlyle's answer.

The narrowness of breadth consists in its lack of mental hospitality towards severe truth.

2. The Scriptural standards of orthodoxy are affirmed, as against the merely speculative standards.

Re-examining, in certain months of recent opportunity, the whole subject of the Scriptural testimony concerning future retribution, and doing so after more than twenty years devoted to theological study, and with entire freedom to change my opinion, I surrounded myself with the best defences of the hypothesis of a probation after death; but I sought in vain, even in the most learned and deliberate of them all, for any explanation of certain famous and classical passages. The great proof-texts and proof-trends of a vital orthodoxy are nowhere explained by the promoters of a devitalized orthodoxy: they are simply evaded. Coming to Springfield, I was much struck by the fact that these very passages, which I had settled upon for myself, were most of them precisely the same with those emphasized in the report of the Prudential Committee of the American Board, as constituting the supreme, because Scriptural, authority as to the most fundamental principles on which all right missionary and evangelistic effort must rest.

In proof that earthly probation is decisive of destiny beyond death for all men, and not merely for those who have heard the gospel, I beg leave to read, with little note or comment, seven passages from Holy Scripture that have never yet been explained away by the friends of a false liberalism, and which constitute a Biblical gulf-current extending from end to end of revelation.

There have been higher instructions given to the American Board than any issued at Des Moines or Springfield.

(1) Thus saith the Lord to the American Board: *John v. 28, 29*, "Marvel not at this: for the hour cometh, in which all that are in the tombs shall hear the voice of the Son of man, and shall come forth; they that have done good [that is, they who before entering their graves have done good here in this life], unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done ill [that is, who have done ill here in this life], unto the resurrection of judgment."

Conversing lately at my own fireside, with that eminent London preacher who has been charming Boston recently by his eloquence, I said to him, "Does not this passage refer to good and ill done here in this life?" He answered, as every candid and intelligent student of Scripture must do: "I recognize no other interpretation as correct." It is trifling with the plain verities of the case to assert that this passage of our Lord's own words does not teach that death ends probation for all men. But this central passage throws light upon the principles involved in both earlier and later Scriptural declarations.

(2) Thus saith the Lord to the American Board: *Rom. i. 20, and ii. 12*, "The invisible things of God since the creation of the world are clearly seen, being perceived [in this life] through the things that are made, even his everlasting power and divinity; that they [in this life] may be without excuse. . . . As many as have sinned without law shall also perish without law: for when the Gentiles which have no law do by nature the things of the law, these, having no law, are a law unto themselves; in that they show the

work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience bearing witness therewith, and their own thoughts one with another accusing or else excusing them."

(3) Thus saith the Lord to the American Board: *Matt. xxv. 31-46*, "Before him shall be gathered *all* the nations: and he shall separate them one from another. . . . And those on the left hand shall go away into eternal punishment, but the righteous into eternal life."

(4) Thus saith the Lord to the American Board: *Ezek. iii. 18-20*, "When I say unto the wicked, 'Thou shalt surely die,' and thou givest him not warning, nor speakest to warn the wicked from his wicked way, to save his life, the same wicked man shall *die in his iniquity*; but his blood will I require at thine hand. . . . When a righteous man doth turn from his righteousness, and commit iniquity, . . . he shall *die in his sin*; . . . but his blood will I require at thine hand."

Does or does not this passage teach that death ends probation? The language of this passage is the more significant, for it is quoted by our Lord in that terrible warning in John viii. 21-25: "Ye shall *die in your sins*: whither I go, ye cannot come. Ye shall *die in your sins*; for except ye believe that I am he, ye shall *die in your sins*." Three times within a short space this phrase, "Ye shall die in your sins," is repeated.

Taken in connection with the other passages here cited, the principle contained in these words of the prophet, as well as in those of our Lord, is plainly of universal application.

(5) Thus saith the Lord to the American Board: *Heb. ix. 27*, "It is appointed unto men once to die, and after this cometh judgment."

(6) Thus saith the Lord to the American Board: *2 Pet. ii. 9*, "The Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptation [that is, those who are godly in this life], and to keep the unrighteous [that is, those who are unrighteous in this life] under punishment unto the day of judgment."

Even if the Second Epistle of Peter is not canonical, as

only a few critics, contradicted by many others, have ventured to assert, it is certain that it was of such high authority in the Apostolic Church as to be received into the Canon, and that it is the sufficient explanation of any passages of disputed import in the First Epistle of Peter.

(7) Thus saith the Lord to the American Board: *Rev. xxii. 11, 12*, "He that is unrighteous, let him do unrighteousness still: and he that is filthy, let him be made filthy still: and he that is righteous, let him do righteousness still: and he that is holy, let him be made holy still. Behold, I come quickly; and my reward is with me, to render to each man according as his work is [that is, according to the deeds done in the body]."

It has been proclaimed by the evangelical creeds of the world for centuries, that these passages teach that it is unsafe for *any* man to die in his sins.

In contrast with these declarations of God's holy word, what instructions would the new theology give for the proclamation of religious truth throughout the world? I open here a volume entitled "Progressive Orthodoxy," and ask where you can interpolate in Scripture these two characteristic sentences from the new theology, and not revolutionize the whole order of revealed truth:—

"It would not be just for God to condemn any man who has not known him as he really is, that is, as revealed in Christ" (p. 64).

"However wicked he may be," no one "who has not heard of Christ is absolutely lost."

"No one can be lost without having had knowledge of Christ" (p. 250).

It is evident that these sentences could not be interpolated into Scripture anywhere without reversing its most palpable and best-attested meaning, settled by ages of learned and devout discussion. Footnotes that contradict God's word are to be trodden under foot.

3. The standards approved by experience through seventy-five years of the history of the Board have been re-affirmed.

If old truth is truth, and new truth is truth, then all new truth will be harmonious with old truth; for truth is one. Old truth has one mark of genuineness which new truth has not; namely, its survival after battle. Every new truth is a novice, every old truth a veteran. Other things being equal, that truth deserves to be most trusted which has been most tested.

The great creeds, political, scientific, and religious, are venerable and authoritative in proportion as they contain propositions approved by the free and prolonged operation of the law of the survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence.

I have no added respect for any proposition merely because it is old, or in the mouths of majorities. But I have added respect for propositions that have seen honest and fierce battle age after age, and never defeat. He who thinks no more of a truth because it is a veteran, emerging triumphant and unscarred from the conflicts of ages, lacks respect for the scientific law of the survival of the fittest.

4. Evangelical unity has been maintained in spite of errors imported from abroad.

There are two new schools of theological thought among us, — a new indigenous school, and a new imported school. The new school in New-England theology is alert, progressive, scholarly, but has its roots in a great past of our own as well as in all the great evangelical creeds of the world. The new imported school is foreign to New-England theology, and indeed subversive of essential portions of the evangelical faith. Besides, it is not the newest German school, but only the next to the newest.

The newest German school of latitudinarian thought is that of Ritschl. Dornerism in eschatology is only the next to the newest German error. Ritschl teaches that Christ had no pre-existence except in the redeeming purpose of the Father. (See Professor Fisher's "History of the Christian Church," p. 628.) This is veiled Unitarianism, as Dornerism is veiled Universalism; but each calls itself orthodox. Ritschl's

neology is one of the waves already started from Germany, and is likely to rock unanchored barks somewhat dangerously when it reaches American shores. But English neology as well as German has of late influenced our theological thought to the prejudice of evangelical unity.

Dr. Parker's eulogy of Mr. Beecher is the sob and pæan of passionate personal friendship; and, as such, is best spoken of with reverence, or passed over in silence. It is bold and eloquent, but it skips the chief difficulties of the topic. Perhaps it was, on the whole, wisest to do this on an occasion appealing so deeply to personal feeling; but I had hoped the crucible in which incense was burned would send up a flame intense enough to consume to ashes all difficulties in the theme. They were not burned up, they were ignored.

This distinguished London divine must by no means be understood as indorsing all Mr. Beecher's opinions. In a discourse at Plymouth Church, Oct. 2, Dr. Parker used these memorable words, and he has often made himself responsible for equivalent teaching: "The throne of God being everywhere, the day of judgment is everywhere, and descends upon the soul at every point of its experience, sentencing it to life eternal, or everlasting punishment, according to the tenor of its conduct." ("New York Tribune," Oct. 3.) But he has recently assured us, in a speech in Boston, that few leading preachers among English Independents teach the doctrine of the eternity of future punishment. Such testimony is not novel. Mr. Spurgeon says that among English non-conformists there is being covertly substituted for sound evangelical faith a new speculative creed that is no more Christianity than chalk is cheese.

"This religion, being destitute of moral honesty, palms itself off as the old faith with slight improvements, and on this plea usurps pulpits which were erected for gospel preaching. The atonement is scouted, the inspiration of Scripture is derided, the Holy Spirit is degraded into an influence, the punishment of sin is turned into fiction, and the resurrection into a myth; and yet these enemies of our faith expect us to call them brethren, and maintain a confederacy with them.

"At the back of doctrinal falsehood comes a natural decline of spiritual

life, evidenced by a taste for questionable amusements and a weariness of devotional meetings. . . .

"The case is mournful. Certain ministers are making infidels. Avowed atheists are not a tenth as dangerous as those preachers who scatter doubt and stab at faith. It is a common thing to hear workingmen excuse their wickedness by the statement that there is no hell, — 'the parson says so.'"

"Many ministers have departed from the faith." "Broad School newspapers do not respect a single truth of revelation." "Evil leaven is working in the churches as well as among the ministers."¹

If this is a correct statement, American Congregationalism need not look abroad for instructions. Indeed, it has now for at least two generations, ceased to do so. Sixty to seventy millions of people here, and less than forty millions in the British Islands, it behooves Americans to have religious, as well as political opinions of their own. Our immense responsibilities at home make it our duty to resist all infection from abroad. American Congregationalism is of age. For at least fifty years, theological education of the New-England type in the Congregational body has been more thorough than that of the Old-England type among Independents. American Congregationalism has had a conflict with Unitarianism and Universalism, such as English Independency never had. In that conflict it has purified itself, recast much of its phraseology, and brought to the front a new school of orthodoxy, as advanced, progressive, and aggressive, as it is evangelical. It is not overshadowed by any state establishment of religion, nor in any need of competing in false liberalism with a Broad Church commonly setting an evil example of latitudinarian teaching. It has developed a school of American revivalists, such as Jonathan Edwards, and Lyman Beecher, and Finney, not to mention those now living, who are spiritual successors of Wesley and Whitefield. In the Puritan age, American Congregationalism owed much to English Independency, and it remembers its debt with appropriate gratitude. But English

¹ See articles by Mr. Spurgeon in *Sword and Trowel*, September to November, 1887, "On the Down Grade," etc. He has now withdrawn from membership in the Baptist Union, in protest against the unscriptural teachings which that organization tolerates.

Independency has declined in both purity and power, since the day when it locked hands with Scottish Presbyterianism in the Solemn League and Covenant. There is to-day a closer affiliation and sympathy, in the deepest matters of faith, between the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers and those of the Scottish Covenanters, than between American Congregationalism and English Independency.

It is, perhaps, not untimely to suggest that there ought to be a certain value, to English Independents, in what was accomplished at Des Moines and Springfield. The decisions reached by the American Board represent, as I solemnly believe, the most sacred convictions of eight-tenths of the Congregationalists of the United States, and of more than that proportion of our evangelical Christians of every order and name.

We are more than Congregationalists — we are evangelical Christians. The little finger of the evangelical hand, we should rejoice in the strength of the other fingers, and in the broad palm of commonly accepted evangelical truths, and in the giant arm behind that palm; and, most of all, in the Divine heart and soul giving strength to that arm.

5. Many misconceptions, everywhere bruited abroad by the secular press, have been cleared up.

It is wholly false to assert —

That any one teaches that souls may have light enough to be lost, and not light enough to be saved.

That the heathen are condemned for not believing a gospel of which they never heard.

That orthodoxy teaches that all men are lost who do not in this life hear of the gospel.

That the American Board is willing to take the money, but not the advice, of the churches.

That it is governed by a clique, a caucus, or a party.

That it assumes to be a theological court, and is at the same time a close corporation, and unwilling to be investigated.

6. The newspaper clamor against a faithful servant of the Board has been emphatically rebuked.

The Home Secretary, Dr. Alden, has been hounded for two years by a portion of the New Departure press, and by the great mass of the secular journals. He has made no reply. At Springfield he sat silent for days, except the reading of his report. That document was received with enthusiasm by the immense majority of the audience of more than three thousand serious people who heard it. The report was printed, studied, dissected. Several speakers attacked it. When, on the next to the last day of the meeting, the Home Secretary rose to make a few remarks, he was received with an ovation which I never saw equalled in a religious or even in a political assembly. It has been my profession for twenty years to study audiences, and I must say that I have never witnessed elsewhere so significant a demonstration as this which greeted Dr. Alden at Springfield. The thunder of applause was deep, resonant, determined, and rolled on and on and on for, I should think, three full minutes. When he could finally be heard, that reception had reduced the attacks upon him not only to zero, but to a negative quantity. That reception, in my opinion, indicated the position of eight-tenths, at least, of the whole body of the Springfield representatives of American Congregationalists.

If one defends the fortress of faith from foes without, he is often popularly called a hero; but if from foes within, a heresy-hunter. But the foes within are far more dangerous than those without the citadel.

7. The Commission Creed of 1884 is again effectually discredited.

When, years ago, I ventured to criticise the very incomplete Commission Creed, I had no disrespect for its supporters, but thought it my duty, as a student of the signs of the times, to point out that the New Theology could be driven through its lax clauses like a coach and four, and that it was really not a fair expression of the faith commonly held by Congregational Churches in the United States. The last two meetings of the American Board have effect-

ally discredited that unfortunate Commission Creed. It allows what the Board disallows,—the teaching of future probation. The Board acts in the name of the very churches of which the Creed professed to be an echo. Events have proved that the Commission document of 1884 is really not a creed, but only a low-water mark.

If you will bear with me, I will remind you that your present speaker, as long ago as 1883, predicted in a speech at Andover Theological Seminary, and in a published article, that the Andover controversy would be carried up to the Supreme Court. It is going up now, and God with it.

It was my fortune, at the meeting of the American Board in Boston in 1885, to raise a quiet signal of alarm, and to be somewhat criticised for doing so. The storm predicted arrived the next year at Des Moines, and the second year at Springfield. The speaker who made the prediction was criticised for knowing too much. A position taken some years ago by your present speaker, concerning the possibility of salvation through implicit faith, or by the essential Christ, without knowledge of the historic Gospel, was attacked in various quarters. At Springfield it was affirmed by some of the most conservative and eminent of the leaders of the majority.

8. The affiliations of the New Departure with other errors have been exposed.

Having made several predictions which have been justified by events, I venture here and now to make two or three more :—

(1) The new theology will grow broader and looser as time advances, and is especially to be expected to combine the hypothesis of conditional immortality with that of future probation. It has already done so in England, and to a larger extent than is commonly supposed in private circles in this country.

(2) Loose views of inspiration will accompany or follow loose views of future retribution. Loose views concerning the evil of sin, the authority of conscience, and the suprem-

acy of the moral law, may easily follow loose views on inspiration and future retribution. And on these may readily follow loose views as to the necessity of the new birth and of the atonement itself.

In this order the stones in the arch of evangelical faith have commonly been loosened in periods of religious and doctrinal declension. When rebuilt by a false liberalism, the arch has never yet had strength enough to bear the weight of a century, a generation, or of a single decade, of thoroughly earnest evangelistic effort in mission fields, at home or abroad.

The New Departure has such a constituency among Universalists, that it ought to be alarmed. The hypothesis of probation after death, as Dr. Pentecost, the evangelist, assured the audience at Springfield, is every day found to be a startling practical difficulty in the way of those who labor to lead men to immediate repentance. "Before to-morrow's sun goes down," said a city preacher to me, as the Springfield meeting closed, "the gamblers, whiskey-sellers, and keepers of dens of infamy in my town will know what vote has been given by the American Board on the question of probation after death. Corrupt and criminal men and women are often now heard affirming that they have had no fair chance for reformation. The slums advocate the new theology. Hell from its depths is stirred in defence of the hope of salvation after death." The practical tendencies of doctrines are known by their spontaneous constituencies.

9. The use of councils to decide upon the doctrinal fitness of missionary candidates has been authoritatively declared inexpedient.

Congregational churches must have high intellectual and religious merit, or they are, as Professor Fisher said at Springfield, simply a herd of wild horses, any two of which it is very difficult to harness together. Independency is the wild herd untamed; individualism is each horse taking his own wild course; Congregationalism is the herd in honest but unslavish harness, uniting its strength for common ends.

As the Congregational polity cannot entirely repress eccentricities, it degenerates easily into mere independency, and this into individualism, and this into anarchy. If Congregationalists do not have more genuine revivals than other denominations; if they do not build more colleges, and accomplish more for missions, and teach a sounder theology, and preach better, than other denominations, — then, on account of the freedom of their polity, they are of all denominations the most miserable. They have nothing to depend upon for their standing in this world, except intellectual and spiritual merit. If they attain this, however, their position too often leads to intellectual and spiritual pride, and this to barrenness, heresy, schism, and various falls, some of which, especially in Eastern Massachusetts, the throne of intellectual pride, have been historic and resounding.

10. An expression of national denominational opinion has been called out, showing that the officers elected, and the results reached as to polity, have the approval of probably eight-tenths of the Congregational churches.

The case of the candidate designated as “Miss P.” in the report read at Springfield by the Home Secretary, shows the extreme left of the positions taken by the Prudential Committee, and approved by the Board; and I beg you to notice it carefully as marking a bound beyond which Scriptural orthodoxy cannot go. It by no means justifies agnosticism in eschatology; for the Committee expressly assert that Miss P. was appointed to her position on the recommendation of the Home Secretary, “with the understanding that she emphasizes in her thought . . . the words of our Lord as recorded in John v. 29.” But her appointment is a typical one, and shows that the Prudential Committee, while disallowing wholly, as “divisive and perversive,” the theory of future probation, deals gently and fairly with the case of each candidate according to its merits, and adopts far broader and in the best sense more liberal positions than those who accept the narrow and unscriptural hypothesis which makes a knowledge of the historic Christ universally necessary to salvation.

The London Missionary Society has machinery, much like that of the American Board for testing candidates for work in its field. Your Board does as well by candidates as any evangelical board has ever done, or is now doing, anywhere in Christendom.

Why is the minority not likely to grow to a majority?

1. The results reached in two great national meetings, by votes which everybody considers decisive, will help to settle opinion on the right side.

2. No church in the whole Congregational body has yet placed in its creed the doctrine or hypothesis of future probation.

3. Religious journalists, with few exceptions, are on the right side. The New York "Independent" has the nation for its sounding-board, and deserves to be singled out for the emphatic thanks of the churches for its recent outspoken and incisive defences of evangelical truth.

4. The apparent growth of the minority vote at Springfield was largely the result of the locality of the meeting.

5. Andover Theological Seminary may very probably be restored to sound orthodoxy within a few years.

6. Immense financial losses will certainly be the result to the Board, if it adopts the views of the minority.

7. The Scriptural standards of orthodoxy will not be changed.

It is said that certain historic churches of Boston, which have been much aggrieved by the action of the Prudential Committee, and are disposed to tolerate the hypothesis which the Board refuses to encourage, are, nevertheless, among the very largest contributors to the support of the work of missions. This is largely a result of hereditary momentum. Let that be lost, and two or three generations of the new teaching will show that it diminishes, in fact, missionary benevolence, as certainly as it does, in theory, the weight of evangelical motive.

What advice is to be given to men of unsettled mood, in a period of theological controversy, and especially to the young and immature in religious thought?

Adhere to self-evident truth.

Adhere to Scripture as interpreted, not by the spirit of the hour, or by merely the spirit of the age, but by the spirit of the ages.

Have suspicion of all fast-and-loose fantastics who adhere, and yet do not adhere, to Scripture and self-evident truth.

Adhere to evangelical unity.

Adhere to the leaders of highest intellectual and spiritual endowments. A fractional man usually teaches a fractional, and so an unsound, theology.

Adhere to the holy of holies of personal piety.

Let us assure Asia, Africa, and the isles of the sea, that Europe and America have fewer divisions in the essentials of faith than would appear at a distance. One obstacle to the progress of missions among the educated classes in the Orient is a greatly exaggerated estimate prevailing there as to the extent and power of unevangelical opinion in the churches of the Occident. We know very well, here, that nine-tenths of our churches agree in a distinctly evangelical faith. They differ greatly as to forms of church government and ecclesiastical procedure; but Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians answer in substantially the same terms, the supreme question: What must I do to be saved? As a traveller, I, for one, have found no fact which it is more important to emphasize at the very ends of the earth, than the evangelical unity of Christendom in the most advanced nations. A divided and devitalized orthodoxy at home could not fail to divide and devitalize missions abroad. I rejoice that Asia is not to be sown with superficialities and self-contradictions in religious teaching in that momentous transitional period through which her immense populations are passing. Calcutta and Bombay are to be congratulated, and so are Canton, Peking, and Tokio, that an official and unmistakable voice now reaches them, expressing beyond a question the most sacred convictions of the great mass of the churches in the Occident. The license of the press, the audacity of

speculation, the lax and luxurious life of certain effortless portions of our civilization, foster unsoundness of opinion; but the working creed of the working churches is fundamentally the same throughout evangelical Protestant Christendom. In the solemn and responsible decisions reached by the American Board, it is expressed with a fidelity upon which history will look back as a landmark. These are the organizing and redemptive forces of our deepest religious life :

1. The existence of one God, infinite in all perfections, revealed as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

2. The Divine authority and inspiration of the Holy Scriptures.

3. The Divine purposes and providence extending to all persons and all events, yet so that individual human freedom and responsibility abide unimpaired.

4. The universal sinfulness of man, by nature destitute of holiness and alienated from God, and so exposed to righteous Divine condemnation except through redeeming and regenerating grace.

5. The incarnation of the Son of God, and his propitiatory sacrifice upon the cross, the just for the unjust, as the only ground of forgiveness of sin.

6. The resurrection and mediatorial intercession and reign of the glorified Lord and Saviour.

7. Salvation provided for all men on condition of repentance toward God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ.

8. The work of the Holy Spirit in the regeneration and sanctification of men.

9. The institution of the visible Church, whose sealing ordinances are baptism and the Lord's supper.

10. The observance of the Lord's day, the Christian Sabbath, as a day of holy rest and worship.

11. The immortality of the soul, the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, the resurrection of the dead, both of the just and the unjust, and the final judgment, the issues of which will be determined by the deeds done in the body; so that the wicked will go into punishment, and the righteous into life, both of which states will be without end. — (*Outline of Doctrine contained in the approved Report of the Home Secretary*, pp. 22, 23.)

These are the holy truths which, generation after generation, impart vigor to our churches. These are the beliefs from which springs whatever of greenness our else arid civilization exhibits from age to age. Both their sternness and their tenderness are fitted to make the whole earth rejoice and blossom as the rose.

The position of the American Board is that of evangelical Christendom at large, in every age. Only obduracy cuts off hope; but the more protracted the obduracy, the less hope of its reversal. The human earthly probation is decisive of the direction of the future growth of the soul in good or evil, and so of destiny.

In view of the terrible certainty that all character tends to a final permanence, let us resolve here and now, every one of us, in God's presence, that we will add not another link to the fatal chain of our evil choices.

And for the churches, let me suggest as a watchword for the hour: Up and on by the Springfield route, until we attain, both at home and at the ends of the earth, the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.

THE CASE OF MISS P.

[*Extract from Dr. Alden's Report at Springfield, pp. 43-49.*]

The first statement of the candidate, received May 11, 1887, which led to further inquiry, was as follows: "I do not know much about doctrinal points; but I assent to the doctrines laid down in the Confession of Faith of the Congregational Church, and outlined in the pamphlet which you gave me [referring to the memorandum already given in this report], *except that doctrine* which would make it impossible that any soul, except in this brief life, should come to a knowledge of the truth, and accept the salvation which God offers to the world. I never have studied on doctrinal points, and do not feel competent to express an opinion on them. I do not know what will be God's dealings with those who have never known Christ, and therefore can neither accept nor reject him in this life. That question I must leave to God's justice and mercy." The reception of this statement was followed by personal correspondence and conversation, particularly in relation to the teachings of our Lord as presented, for example, in *Matt. xxv. 31-46*, and in *John v. 28, 29*; also, to apostolic teachings in the *first and second chapters of Romans* and in *Heb. ix. 27*, and other passages. Subsequent letters contain, among others, the following statements: *May 21*, "I do not believe the Bible gives us any intimation that there will be a state of future probation, and I do not believe in Universalism." . . . *June 16*, "With all my heart I implicitly accept all of our Lord's teachings, and earnestly desire to go to work in —, where the gospel is not known, and to emphasize not one but all of Christ's teachings as he shall give me understand-

ing of them. *These statements were satisfactory*, as shown in the following records:—

The report of the Home Secretary, which in his absence was presented to the Committee in writing, June 28, 1887, was as follows: "The Home Secretary recommends the appointment of Miss P., and designation to —, with the understanding that before her departure provision be made for her debt; also, *with the understanding that she emphasizes in her thought upon the matter of the decisiveness of character formed during the present life as related to the issues of the final judgment, the words of our Lord as recorded in John v. 29.*"

The following is the record of the Committee:—

June 28, 1887. — "The case of Miss P. was taken up; and, after the reading of further correspondence with her, the following minute was adopted:—

"An offer of service from Miss P. having passed through the usual and normal course of application, and *her appointment having been recommended by the Home Secretary*, and her case having been, like all others, considered on its own merits;

"Resolved, That Miss P. be appointed *an assistant missionary* of the Board."

THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION AMONG ENGLISH CONGREGATIONALISTS.

Were I to say what I think the great need of the time, it would be, increased attention to theological education. The knowledge of theology is the thing most wanted, and certain to be most corrective of our errors. Our colleges have hitherto, in looking after literary training, been forced to neglect, to a very great extent, theological; and men sent out to preach without being qualified by a special discipline are men handed over, not to a knowledge of the Scriptures, but either to the re-actionary or revolutionary tendencies in the churches of to-day. Greater respect for theological truth will come out of greater knowledge, and clear thinking will lead to clear teaching and biblical preaching. — REV. A. M. FAIRBAIRN, D.D., *Principal of Mansfield College, Cambridge, Eng.* (*The Congregational Review*, November, 1887, p. 1050).

ARBITRATION AS A REMEDY FOR WAR.

SPEECH AT TREMONT TEMPLE, BOSTON, NOV. 5, 1887.

A meeting to welcome the British Arbitration Delegation was held at Tremont Temple, Nov. 5, under the auspices of the American Peace Society. A very large and enthusiastic audience listened for three hours to speeches from Hon. E. S. Tobey, who, as president of the Peace Society, presided on the occasion; the Rev. Dr. R. B. Howard, secretary of the Peace Society; Hon. J. Q. A. Brackett, lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts; Halley Stewart, M.P., Andrew Provand, M.P., the Rev. Dr. Alexander McKenzie of Cambridge, the Right Hon. Sir Lyon Playfair, M.P., W. R. Cremer, M.P., Sir George Campbell, M.P., and Joseph Cook, who offered the resolutions closing the following speech:—

A NEW era dawns, Mr. Chairman, and ladies and gentlemen, now that the victims of war themselves begin to hold the purse-strings of war. The friends of international arbitration are called dreamers; they are suspected of being chimerical. But the progress of liberty in the modern world has lifted ballots into authority over bullets. As suffrage broadens, the prospects of peace improve; for the classes that suffer most from war begin to have power to abolish it. The cry of the victims of war is the most persuasive and pathetic argument against it (applause); and, thank God, the victims of war now have votes, not only in the American Republic, but in England and France, and will soon have them in Germany. (Applause.)

There are Christians enough on this globe to reach, if they were to stand up with arms extended, eleven times around it. The Christians of the world ought to be a peace society, and an arbitration society; and undoubtedly they do hold civilization together, golden links making substantially one

theocracy of the many peoples of the planet. But there are workingmen enough on the globe, who might easily become victims of war, not merely to reach around it eleven times, but to clothe it with the winding sheets of their corpses, and to clasp the entire planet many times in the arms of their widows and orphans. The victims of war are chiefly found among workingmen; and these people, in the providence of God, are coming to the front in the regions of political power. (Applause.) I maintain that the appearance of the workman as the champion of arbitration is the rising of a morning star before the dawn — I will not say of immediate, but of ultimate and general, if not of universal peace. (Applause.)

What do we see here to-night that is new in the history of the world? Representatives of the most powerful empire known to history, asking co-operation for the establishment of international peace from the foremost Christian republic of all time. The British Parliament is not usually supposed to be much given to the support of fantastic and chimerical propositions in politics. Two hundred and thirty-three members of the House of Commons, including both Liberals and Conservatives, among whom are twenty-one members who have held office in recent governments, have presented to the President of the United States an address in favor of arbitration between England and America as a remedy for war. The Workmen's Peace Association in England originated the movement, and among its supporters on this platform to-night are representatives of seven hundred thousand members of British trades-unions. Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, the Lord Mayor of London, Cardinal Manning, Mr. Spurgeon, and thirty-seven members of the House of Lords, commend the scheme in letters of cordial approval. The President of the United States has publicly pledged himself to give it his faithful and careful consideration. The British delegation, in its travels through the Republic, has been received everywhere, as it is here and now, so near to Plymouth Rock and under the shadow of Bunker Hill, with spontaneous ovation

by a population that prides itself somewhat on its practical sagacity.

Precisely what are we asked to do? Adopt the policy of non-resistance in all possible cases? Never, in any actual or conceivable circumstances, go to war, even in just self-defence? By no means. There has been entire frankness on all these points here to-night. We speak under the auspices of the honored American Peace Society, and perhaps nine out of ten of us revere its principles; and yet this movement in favor of international arbitration is not put forth by any peace society. It is the practical, cool, shrewd proposal of statesmen, of workingmen, of bankers, of jurists. It is, as I understand it, simply the proposal that England and America should agree by treaty, that, in any case of international dispute which cannot be settled by diplomacy, they will always try arbitration before trying war. Face to face with the successes of arbitration during the last fifty years, who dares to say that this proposal is chimerical or untimely? Since the Alabama case, of happy omen, was settled at Geneva, more than a score of really important cases of international dispute have been successfully settled by arbitration.

There are three things, Mr. Chairman, and ladies and gentlemen, about which there is no longer any dispute. At the present stage of civilization, it is neither chimerical nor untimely to endeavor to mitigate the severities of war, to reduce its frequency, and to pave the way to its abolition. As Professor Sheldon Amos has told us, all international lawyers regard these three as sober, legitimate, and attainable objects. They are all the more so now that workingmen hold the chief power at the ballot-box in the most advanced nations.

What more than these three results do the British and American friends of arbitration really expect to effect? They ask nothing more or different. It is true that the language of the memorial presented to the President and Congress recommends that "any differences which cannot be settled by diplomacy shall be referred to arbitration;" and *any*

means *all*. We are asked to support a movement which would refer to the council rooms of arbitration all international disputes which cannot be adjusted by negotiation. This is a very broad proposal, and may fairly be called a bold one. No one claims, however, that arbitration is equally applicable to all cases, or that it is a universal panacea for war. Ninety-eight out of an hundred cases of international disputes most of us would probably be willing to submit to arbitration; but there are a few cases so deeply involving national honor and dignity, and even self-preservation, that our critics say that most of us would refuse to submit them to an international tribunal, and agree to abide by the result. But what do our British guests and their American friends really mean by their proposal that any — that is, all — difficulties which diplomacy cannot remove shall be referred to arbitration? Probably we should all agree to define arbitration as Charles Francis Adams defined it when he signified to England the willingness of the United States to submit the Alabama case to arbitration; that is, “any fair and equitable form of reference.” In the movement represented here to-night the advocates of arbitration ask Great Britain and the United States to agree simply to this proposition: *When diplomacy fails, we will always try arbitration before trying war.*

Who objects to this? Who says that such an agreement would be unwise or unattainable? Congress again and again, in one or the other branch, has shown its willingness to make such an arrangement. John Stuart Mill thought that the Supreme Court of our Republic suggests a model on which a court might be framed to settle wars between the states of Europe. Grant, Garfield, Sumner, Lowell, Dudley Field, have all urged the formation of such a court. We have come very near to forming one for North and South America. If we can do that on one side of the globe, why cannot we do it on both sides of the planet?

The nation agreeing to such a treaty would by no means cede away its inalienable right of self-defence by force at its

own risk, if unjustly attacked. But it would be unlikely to be thus attacked, if there were an equitable international tribunal in which nations might implead one another and be judged by an international code of common authority. Such a court would, in most cases, carry off the electricity of inflamed susceptibilities arising from international friction. It would be open to a nation, even under such a treaty, if it were in its judgment violated, to risk itself in military conflict for the assertion of its rights. The world would be on its side, if really the merits of the case were on its side. The conscience of the world — that is one of Gen. Grant's great expressions — must ultimately become the governor of the politics as well as of the religion of the world. The conscience of the world forbids war unless absolutely unavoidable; but no war can be known to be unavoidable unless arbitration is tried, and fails, before war is declared.

Our proposal is simply that any case of international difficulty, in which negotiation fails, and which in the judgment of practical men lies within the field of arbitration, shall be tried in that field, and apply at that court for settlement before military measures are employed. What case can be imagined in which we should be unwilling to exhaust peaceful methods of settlement before resorting to military and naval conflict? The principles of the arbitration movement do not assert the unjustifiableness of strictly defensive wars, nor of the forceful preservation of civil order. Foremost among the great patriots who justified the Northern States in the civil war were men like Sumner and Garfield, and even Gen. Grant, who abhorred war in general, and were determined friends of international arbitration.

As to the method of arbitration, it must be confessed that it is a question of detail on which only long experience can make us thoroughly wise. I am exceedingly impressed by the wisdom of our friends from England in abstaining from unnecessary detail. As represented at the meeting of the Boston Commercial Club, by Sir George Campbell, lately one of the governors of India, our guests propose an inter-

national court of five members; two to be chosen by each nation, and the fifth to be selected by the four. The voice of five, according to the ancient Aryan proverb, is the voice of God. There is much to recommend this method; but the main matter is, to carry through Congress and Parliament a treaty embodying the central proposition, that in our international difficulties, when diplomacy fails, we will always try arbitration before trying war. Another mode suggested by high authority is the constitution of a court with defined powers, the appointment of judges in each case to be determined at the time and for that particular emergency.

Something has been said here of an America within America, and of an England within England. What is to be said of the England that is to be, and of the America that is to come? We have been told that our business to-night is to adopt a watchword for the twentieth century. I expect, if I live until the year 1910, to see the sun shining on one hundred millions of people in the United States. But there is rapidly coming into existence a second set of United States. What is England? Six things, — the mother islands, Canada, the West Indian settlements, the African provinces, Australasia, India. What is the greatest question in the future of the British Empire? Confederation or disintegration, which? The English population in the Empire outside the mother islands will soon and permanently outnumber by far the population within those islands, and will never consent that matters of imperial moment shall be settled wholly by the latter. Greater Britain, like the Greater Spain and the Greater France, will disintegrate unless confederated. I believe that the British Empire will form, at last, a great imperial confederation. Perhaps its plan of union will be like that on which the Canadian provinces were confederated, perhaps like that which holds together our Republic. The monarchy, and even the House of Lords, may last for generations, and England yet be governed by almost universal suffrage. If England and her colonies, by confederation, become a second set of United States, and that set of United

States and our set of United States lock hands, they have power to draw the whole world into God's bosom so closely as to make the sound of his pulses the marching-song of all the ages. (Applause.)

In view of this majestic future of the English-speaking peoples alone, why should we not drop our caution,—or, rather, exercise it, and encourage arbitration in every reasonable way? Our English friends observe the most careful courtesies on this mission. They remind us that our own Congress has made propositions looking toward arbitration; and they promise that if a proposition thoroughly indorsing arbitration should emanate from Congress, they will support such a movement in the British Parliament as would match our effort here. In courtesy to us, they appear as echoing certain proposals already made in Congress: They pluck from a growth of American ideas an olive branch which they use to scatter healing waters to the ends of the entire British Empire, on which the sun never sets. We admire their courtesy, their practical wisdom, and their far-sightedness; but we keep in view the entire race.

All Europe, Victor Hugo predicted, is to become, in some very definite political sense, a third set of United States; and what may not be accomplished for the peace of the world by three such unions joining hands! It is much to be an Englishman; it is something to be an American, a Frenchman, or a German; but it is more to be a member of that universal theocracy to which modern civilization ought to hold every one of us responsible.

David Dudley Field has given us a remarkable volume proposing a new international code. His brother, Cyrus Field, laid the telegraphic cable between England and America. But this moral cable of improved international law, acting between age and age, and nationality and nationality, is a sublimer structure than the physical cable beneath the sea. What he proposes (Field's *International Code*, second edition, 1876, p. 371) is, that after we have organized several courts of arbitration, and experience has set safe precedents, a short

international code should be adopted by the legislatures of the leading powers in the Occident; and then if any government, a party to that code, should make war contrary to its provisions, the other nations should coerce it to keep the peace. (Applause.) This would be international arbitration with a sanction. This is what some of the most advanced international reformers ask for. There are scores of great legal scholars, besides Bluntschli and Field, who assure us that such a scheme need not be a dream. While we beseech Heaven to speed its success according to its merits, let us appoint our earlier international courts with shrewdness; for they may set precedents that will influence a vast future.

Arbitration might not always secure what would satisfy both nations. But does war? Arbitration might not always secure exact justice. But does war always do this? If arbitration, as our poet Whittier says, is a holy experiment, war is now in a deeper sense than ever before an unholy experiment.

Gen. Sheridan said recently at the centennial celebration of the American Constitution, and his hearers cheered the words to the echo:—

“There is one thing you should appreciate, and that is that the improvement in guns and the material of war, in dynamite and other explosives, and in breech-loading guns, is rapidly bringing us to a period when war will be eliminated from history, when we can no longer stand up and fight each other, and when we shall have to resort to something else. Now, what will that something else be? It will be arbitration. I mean what I say, when I express the belief that any of those here present who may live until the next centennial will find that arbitration will rule the whole world.”

Swiftmess of modern intercommunication has woven all advanced nations into one web. International contacts are many times more numerous than they were an hundred years ago. Neutrals suffer more in modern wars than ever before. If two men fight on a prairie, or in the forest, they hurt only themselves; but, if they fight in a crowded assemblage, the bystanders are in danger. Neutrals are crowded as bystanders around war now as in no previous age of the world. Neutrals,

therefore, have a right to insist that war shall be limited in time and space as much as possible.

Free ships make free goods, is a modern doctrine which commerce was the chief means of bringing into authority. The consecration of commerce is a reform that may be greatly hastened by the selfishness of trade. We have now an international code adopted by forty-six nations for use on the sea. Let us cause one to grow up for use on the land.

Some of these nations are weak ones; but in her late wars with China, Great Britain respected the rights of neutral commerce everywhere. We shall ultimately extend the broad shield of international law over even the babes in the cradle of the world. We shall treat such peoples as these of Abyssinia, South Africa, Afghanistan, Egypt, the Soudan, and Burmah as we could have wished to be treated ourselves in our own stage of barbarism and infancy.

It is in the power of an Anglo-American alliance to support arbitration in such a way as to guarantee the military neutrality of all interoceanic canals, and of the North Atlantic and Central Pacific, and spread peace over half the continents. To the English-speaking races, the oceans of the world, with modern means of intercommunication, ought to be no greater obstacle to intercourse and peace than the Mediterranean was to the Roman Empire.

To summarize, in a word, the reasons, which every year grow weightier, why modern civilization should adopt international arbitration as a remedy for war, is a difficult task; but I venture to name the most urgent of them, side by side, that they may explain and re-echo each other. They are, —

1. The fact that the victims of war themselves now begin to hold the purse-strings of war; or that, in the progress of liberty, ballots have been lifted into authority over bullets.

2. The growing cost of wars, in blood and treasure, to both belligerents and neutrals, now that the efficiency of military weapons has been so terribly heightened by modern inventions, and when speed of intercommunication has brought about something like solidarity among nations.

3. The success of an improved international code touching maritime rights, as outlined in the famous Declaration of Paris of 1856, and now governing the practice of forty-six nations.

4. The success of arbitration in more than a score of highly difficult cases of international disputes arising during the last fifty years.

5. The demands of commerce, both by sea and land.

6. The dictates of modern philanthropy, especially in the case of weak nations:

7. The supreme demands of Christianity, and the enlarged scope of the international duties of Christendom in a world in which there are now no foreign lands, and in which the sky is the roof of but one family.

We foresee nothing with certainty, except that God's will cannot fail to be ultimately done, and his kingdom to come on the whole earth.

"Unto us a child is born,

Unto us a son is given;

And the government shall be upon his shoulder:

And his name shall be called Wonderful,

Counsellor, Mighty God,

Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace.

Of the increase of his government

And of peace there shall be no end. . . .

The zeal of the Lord of hosts shall perform this."

Isa. ix. 6, 7.

We are justified in adopting as watchwords for the present and for the twentieth century, —

Break the sword across the anvil.

Break the sword across the workingman's ballot-box.

Break the sword across the banker's iron safe.

Break the sword across the ocean telegraphic cables.

Break the sword across the philanthropist's platform.

Break the sword across the Bible.

Or, in Mr. Spurgeon's words, break the sword across the table of the council-room of international arbitration. (Prolonged applause.)

I have now the honor, Mr. Chairman, and ladies and gentlemen, to offer the following resolutions: —

Resolved, That we hereby unite with the British deputation of peace and arbitration in praying the President and Congress of the United States to take the steps necessary to secure a treaty with Great Britain which shall stipulate that any disputes or difficulties arising between the two governments which cannot be adjusted by negotiation shall be referred to arbitration.

Resolved, That a committee of fifty citizens of Massachusetts be appointed to present the above resolution to the United States Government, and co-operate with committees from other States in securing the object specified.

The Secretary of the Peace Society read the following names for the Committee: —

Oliver Ames, Hugh O'Brien, George O. Carpenter, W. A. Tower, Stanton Blake, Bishop Paddock, John G. Blake, M.D., W. H. Baldwin, Newton Talbott, E. M. Boynton, Rev. D. S. Coles, Thomas H. Russell, Rev. D. H. Ela, D.D., Rev. R. B. Howard, Rev. A. A. Miner, D.D., Bishop Rudolph S. Foster, S. H. Emery, President Julius H. Seelye, Rev. J. P. Abbott, D.D., Thomas W. Higginson, H. O. Houghton, Joseph Cook, Hon. H. B. Peirce, Rev. Edward Everett Hale, D.D., Rev. Henry T. Cheever, Joseph Burnett, Rev. David Gregg, Jacob S. Merrill, Rev. J. W. Olmstead, Rev. B. K. Pierce, D.D., A. W. Blake, Ezra Farnsworth, William Whitman, Thomas Wood, J. E. Farwell, Edwin D. Mead, Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, Rev. Phillips Brooks, D.D., Thomas Gaffield, Hon. William Hyde of Ware, Charles Theodore Russell, Judge Thompson, Hon. Harmon Hall, Rev. A. H. Quint, Hon. George B. Loring, Hon. Alexander H. Rice, Hon. E. S. Tobey, Rev. A. P. Peabody, D.D., Rev. A. E. Winship, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop.

The resolutions were passed, and the committee appointed, unanimously.

The following letters, among others, were read at this meeting: —

AMESBURY, 11th mo. 9, 1887.

DEAR FRIEND, — It is a very serious disappointment to me not to be able to be present at the welcome of the American Peace Society to the delegation from more than two hundred members of the British Parliament who favor international arbitration. Few events have more profoundly impressed me than the presentation of this peaceful overture to the President of the United States. It seems to me that every true patriot who seeks the best interests of his country, and every believer in the gospel of Christ, must respond to the admirable address of Sir Lyon Playfair, and that of his colleagues who represented the workingmen of England. We do not need to be told that war is always cruel, barbarous, and brutal; whether used by professed Christians with ball and bayonet, or by heathen with club and

boomerang. We cannot be blind to its waste of life and treasure, and the demoralization which follows in its train; nor cease to wonder at the spectacle of Christian nations exhausting all their resources in preparing to slaughter each other, with only here and there a voice like Count Tolstoi's in the Russian wilderness, crying in heedless ears that the gospel of Christ is peace, not war, and love, not hatred.

The overture which comes to us from English advocates of arbitration is a cheering assurance that the tide of sentiment is turning in favor of peace among English-speaking peoples. I cannot doubt, that, whatever stump orators and newspapers may say for party purposes, the heart of America will respond to the generous proposal of our kinsfolk across the water. No two nations could be more favorably conditioned than England and the United States for making the "holy experiment of arbitration."

In our association and kinship, our aims and interests, our common claims in the great names and achievements of a common ancestry, we are essentially one people. Whatever other nations may do, we, at least, should be friends. God grant that the noble and generous attempt may not be in vain! May it hasten the time when the only rivalry between us shall be the peaceful rivalry of progress, and the gracious interchange of good:—

"When closer strand shall lean to strand,
'Till meet beneath saluting flags
The eagle of our mountain crags,
The lion of our motherland."

I am truly thy friend,

JOHN G. WHITTIER.

BROOKLINE, MASS., NOV. 12, 1887.

HON. E. S. TOBEY,

Dear Sir,—I would gladly be at your side to-night, as one of the honorary vice-presidents of the American Peace Society, to unite with you in welcoming the distinguished British delegates who have come over to urge upon our country the great cause of international arbitration; but I have been compelled of late, as you know, to renounce all such public occasions. More than forty years have elapsed, since, as the representative of Boston in the Congress of the United States, I moved and pleaded earnestly for that mode of settling our differences with England. The views which I advocated as a young man, I have not abandoned as an old man: on the contrary, I cherish them, and hold them fast, with increased conviction and renewed fervor.

I hail this movement of the workingman of old England, enforced by a memorial of nearly two hundred and fifty members of the British House of Commons, as a most cheering token of the world's advance in civilization and Christianity. Whatever may be its immediate result, its influence cannot fail of being felt for good in all future exigencies of international dispute and danger. Believe me, dear sir, with warmest sympathy in the objects of the meeting to which you have so kindly invited me, yours respectfully and truly,

ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

XII.

THE FUTURE OF CITIES AND OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

AN ADDRESS IN PARK STREET CHURCH, BOSTON, MAY 23, 1870.

SLAVERY AND THE SALOON IN POLITICS.

FROM A SYMPOSIUM, OCTOBER, 1885.

PROMISES AND PERILS OF THE TEMPERANCE REFORM.

SPEECH IN CHICKERING HALL, NEW YORK,
DECEMBER 4, 1887.

"The character of a city is determined by the character of the men it crowns." — ÆSCHINES: *On the Crown*.

"The city is the nerve-centre of our civilization. It is also the storm-centre. . . . While a little less than one-third of the population of the United States is foreign by birth or parentage, sixty-two per cent of the population of Cincinnati are foreign, eighty-three per cent of Cleveland, sixty-three of Boston, eighty-eight of New York, and ninety-one of Chicago. . . . When some commercial crisis has closed factories by the ten thousand, and wage-workers have been thrown out of employment by the million; when the public lands, which hitherto at such times have afforded relief, are all exhausted; when our Cincinnati have become Chicagos, and our Chicagos New Yorks, and our New Yorks Londons; when class antipathies are deepened; when socialistic organizations, armed and drilled, are in every city; when the corruption of city governments has grown apace; when crops fail, or some gigantic corner doubles the price of bread; with starvation in the home; with idle workmen, sullen and desperate, gathered in the saloons; with unprotected wealth at hand; with the tremendous forces of chemistry within easy reach,—then, with the opportunity, the means, the fit agents, the motive, the temptation to destroy, all brought into evil conjunction, then will come the real test of our institutions; then will appear whether we are capable of self-government." — JOSIAH STRONG: *Our Country*, pp. 128, 143.

THE FUTURE OF CITIES AND OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

DE TOCQUEVILLE ON THE POWER OF THE MAJORITY IN
THE UNITED STATES.

WHEN Alexis de Tocqueville was in this country in 1832, some one observed to him in Philadelphia, that almost all crimes in America were caused by the abuse of intoxicating liquor, which even the poor could obtain in abundance, from its cheapness. "How comes it," said De Tocqueville, "that you do not put a duty upon brandy?" — "Our legislators," his informant rejoined, "have frequently thought of this expedient. But the task is difficult. A revolt might be apprehended. And the members who should vote for such a law would be sure of losing their seats." — "Whence I am to infer," replied De Tocqueville seriously, "that the intemperate are a majority in your country, and that temperance is unpopular." ¹ Even if his estimate of the extent of intemperance in our country forty years ago had been much lower, it would not have been singular that De Tocqueville, with such views of the moral sentiment of the mass of the people, and of the relations of that sentiment to legislative seats, should have inculcated over and over, as he did, the doctrine, little agreeable to American ears, but the ghost, nevertheless, in the unconfessed thoughts of many by no means the least loyal of American hearts, that the chief dangers of democracy in the United States arose,

¹ De Tocqueville, Alexis: *Democracy in America*. Vol. 1, chap. xiii., *Self-Control of the American Democracy*.

and would continue to arise, from the omnipotence of the majority. Even Madison held this view. And so did Jefferson himself.

My topic to-night is Aggressive Temperance Activity, the Duty of Pulpit, Press, and Parlor. But not to take a line of thought too trite, although the triteness of all temperance themes is suggestive proof of their importance, I wish to present, as not the least grave or great of the motives to that activity, the relations of the temperance reform to the future of democracy in the United States, or the perils of the Republic from storm centres in misgoverned great cities.

CONTRAST OF THE SLAVE OLIGARCHY WITH THE WHISKEY RING.

There is a singular analogy between the struggles of the Union with secession, and the struggles of some of our larger States with their corrupt great towns. New York City, New Orleans, Chicago, and Boston nullify some of the laws of their States as effectually as ever South Carolina nullified a law of the Union. We have come to the days of municipal police. It is given to no mortal to ascend the mount of vision, and, with Milton's affable angel, open the future; but, if I were asked which one of the clouds, not larger than a man's hand, now on the horizon of our years to come, has in it the murkiest threat, I should point to the collisions between State authorities and corrupt great cities. But, as secession had one controlling impulse, so the corrupt cities have one. There is often astonishing significance in popular phrases that have such aptness as to live in the mouths of a whole people. The evil power in our corrupt cities is, by common consent, denominated the Whiskey Ring. As the rebellion of the States was slavery in arms, slavery on horse-back, slavery on foot, slavery raging on the battle-field, slavery on the quarter-deck; so the rebellion of the cities is the whiskey ring at the polls, the whiskey ring in the lobby, the whiskey ring in the corrupt judiciary, the whiskey ring in the ineffective police, the whiskey ring in

the public purse. Prostrate the slave oligarchy, it was said by the most substantial of living American orators, when the words were half battles,¹ and the door will be open to all generous impulses. Prostrate the whiskey ring, and the problem of the management of great cities, in consistency with democratic institutions, can be solved. Prostrate the slave oligarchy, it was said, and liberty will become in fact, as in law, the normal condition of all the National Territories. Prostrate the whiskey ring, and the healthful State regulations will become in fact, as in law, the regulations of the cities. Prostrate the slave oligarchy, it was said, and the National Government will be divorced from slavery, and the National policy will be changed from slavery to freedom. Prostrate the whiskey ring, and the leading State legislatures will be freed from far the largest portion of that corruption, which is at once the opprobrium and the peril of American institutions, and is quoted as such to the ends of the civilized earth. Prostrate the slave oligarchy, it was said, and the North will be no longer the vassal of the South. Prostrate the whiskey ring, and the metropolitan States will be no longer the vassals of metropolitan cities. Prostrate the slave oligarchy, it was said, and a mighty victory of peace will be won, whose influence on the future of our country and of mankind no imagination can paint. Prostrate the whiskey ring, and a mighty victory of democratic civil safety will be won, whose influence on the future of our country and of mankind no imagination can paint.

THE GROWTH OF AMERICAN CITIES TWICE AS RAPID AS THAT OF THE WHOLE POPULATION.

It is not to be denied that many who cannot be suspected of want of zeal for the success of democracy in the United States are thrown into grave doubts as to the future of our

¹ Sumner, Hon. Charles: Speech on the Republican Party: its Origin, Necessity, and Permanence, before the Young Men's Republican Union of New York, July 4, 1860.

system, by its imperfect success in our great cities. The lesson of history in the past has been, that great cities are among the chief dangers of democracy. I am no alarmist; my business is not agitation. But I confess that I consider this lesson of history as to democracies, when put side by side with the facts that we are, and are to be, a nation of great cities, something that should bring thoughtful men to a pause. We hear daily enough, and more than enough, of the corruptions of our great cities. But it is not so commonly noticed that population increases in our cities with vastly greater rapidity than elsewhere. I take up the last census, and find that the growth of the average population of our cities is more than twice as rapid as that of the whole population of the land. I find, for example, a list of one hundred and twenty-six cities, that are scattered from end to end and from side to side of our portion of the continent; and the average increase of their population between the years 1850 and 1860 was 78.62 per cent, while that of the whole population of the United States during the same period was only 35.59 per cent. This remarkable circumstance in regard to the population of American cities is a phenomenon not merely of the Western States. During the period in question, the increase of the population of New York was 56.27 per cent; that of Philadelphia was 65.43 per cent,—an increase partly the result of addition of territory; but between 1840 and 1850, Philadelphia increased 54.27 per cent; that of Worcester was 46 per cent; that of Hartford was 115.08 per cent; that of New Haven was 93 per cent; that of Buffalo was 91.97 per cent; that of Nashville was 62.13 per cent; that of New Orleans was 44.94 per cent. There are a few cities in the East in which the increase was not 35 per cent; but, to balance these, we have in the West such almost fabulous rates of increase as that of 106.49 per cent for St. Louis, and 264.65 per cent for Chicago.¹ The fact is strikingly evident from the census, not merely for the period from 1850 to 1860, but

¹ Preliminary Report on the Eighth Census, Table No. 40, p. 242; also p. 117.

also for that from 1840 to 1850, that our population has a tendency to mass itself in cities. I am forced to regard this as one of the most suggestive prophecies as to our future that the census contains. Probably the growth of our aggregate city population is three times as rapid as the growth of the rural population. But we manage great cities by the vote of the majority. Our population tends to arrange itself in great cities. But great cities are one of our chief dangers; for in all history the vote of a majority in great cities has been found an inadequate protection of property and life. To look these facts in the face, is not sensational declamation: it is statesmanship. The facts are not sentiment: they are arithmetic.

CITIES IN EUROPE GROW FASTER THAN THE POPULATION.

If it were perfectly certain that half the civilized world was henceforth to live in cities and large towns, it would not be uncertain which half of the world would predominate in influence over the other half, — the part in the towns, or the part out of the towns. It would not be uncertain, either, that the management of large towns would become a problem of the first importance in civilization. Nor would it be uncertain that the management of the towns on the democratic principle would have extraordinary difficulties. Now, I believe it capable of being made very probable, that the tendency of the application of the discoveries of the railway and telegraph to create centres and facilitate intercommunication must cause a vastly increased percentage of the civilized world to live henceforth in cities and large towns. This tendency of population to cities is not a merely American phenomenon. From 1832 to 1869, the increase of the population of London was 98 per cent; that of Constantinople was 50; that of Paris was 118; that of Vienna was 107; that of Moscow was 50; that of Berlin was 220; that of Manchester was 49; that of Liverpool was 174; that of Madrid was 105. Liverpool has increased as fast as Boston; Berlin, faster than New York.

Here is a movement wide as the world. Here is the touch of the finger of the Ruler of men. God is setting cities on hills thrice higher than they ever occupied before. Their light cannot be hid; and whether it be white flame from above, or blue flame from beneath, the radiance, celestial or infernal, white or blue, vivifying or ominously ghastly, is cast in many cases on landscapes of souls half around the globe.

FIVE PROPOSITIONS AS TO GREAT CITIES.

I hold five propositions to be plainly true concerning this problem of the management of great cities; and that the propositions are sure to attract attention in the next generation, if not in this.

1. The growth and influence of great cities increase with every increase of the means of intercommunication between States; and the growth of means of intercommunication is very nearly the most characteristic feature of the present age.

2. The problem of the perishing and dangerous classes increases in importance with every increase in the growth and influence of great cities.

3. The growth and influence of great cities, unless the problem of the perishing and dangerous classes can be solved in consistency with American representative government, are the chief perils in the future of democracy in the United States.

4. The chief perils from the perishing and dangerous classes in great cities arise from intemperance and its associated vices.

5. The temperance reform, therefore, has profoundly vital relations in the United States to the success of democracy itself.

GROWTH OF MEANS OF INTERCOMMUNICATION, AND ITS EFFECT ON CITIES.

Ours, it must be remembered, in the first place, is an age extraordinarily distinguished by the growth of means of intercommunication. The time has now come in the history of the world when it may be said that there are no foreign

lands. One-half the considerable cities of the globe can be reached from London and New York by telegraph in twelve hours. One-half the missionaries of the American Board can be reached from Andover by telegraph in twenty-four hours. Our age is likely to be remembered in future ages as that of the increase of intercommunication. The laying of the Atlantic cable is a success. The Pacific Railway is opened. The Suez Canal is complete. These are all events of the first magnitude. The telegraph and the railway are bursting into consummate flower in the annihilation of distance. They are imposing new habits on civilization. But the habits of civilization, as Carlyle remarks, are more than the laws and constitutions of States; they are the one organic law, which, for the time being, society cannot disobey. But the great events which have made international communication easy are only more important than the wonderful increase of intercommunication between the different parts of individual nations. In the United States alone, during the ten years between 1850 and 1860, the number of miles of new railway brought into operation, would, if put into a straight line, have lacked but a trifle of encircling the globe. It amounted to twenty-two thousand miles. It is evident, that, with all this facilitation of intercommunication, population must tend to mass itself more and more at the points at which capital and industry can be applied at the best advantage; that is to say, at centres. Backward swirls, such as are seen in England, gentlemen having landed estates seeking the country, will come; but they are only swirls, and not a reversal of the current. The current is caused by the establishment of centres easily intercommunicating, and giving opportunities to industry and capital such as are not furnished elsewhere; and the creation of such centres is a permanent result of the growth of means of intercommunication. Supply follows demand, and the demand is for population at centres. Accordingly, in actual fact, both in the Old World and the New, population is found massing itself in cities and large towns. It is doing this in a degree

that is a new phenomenon in civilization, and one of the highest significance. Indeed, the most important lines of division among men are now not territorial, but social. But, beneath the touch of the Finger that moves the world, many social barriers to the intercommunication of men are disappearing, along with the territorial. Side by side with the Atlantic telegraph, the Pacific Railway, and the Suez Canal, and in a sense analogous to them, we have the abolition of slavery in the United States, the abolition of serfdom in Russia, and an almost universal movement throughout the world to extend suffrage to the masses. Indeed, there are not wanting those, like Mr. Godkin, in the last "North American Review," who regard the condition of civilization at this moment as analogous to that of the Roman Empire just previous to its fall. The latter had extended its boundaries on all sides, until the outer barbarism had been so far reached, or so far partially admitted, that it broke in; and the greatest catastrophe of human history followed, to be succeeded by a slow reconstruction that has proved its greatest blessing. Modern civilization has extended its boundaries, both territorial and social, until barbarism begins again to break in. The problem of the second crisis is more complicated than that of the first; as the battle with Goths and Huns is to be fought now with social and intellectual and political weapons, and not, or at least not as yet, with martial. It is more complicated, also, because there are now no new Americas and El Dorados to which civilization can escape to set up its ark, but must be fought out chiefly at centres of population.

MUCH AS CITIES DO FOR VIRTUE, THEY DO MORE
FOR VICE.

Now, in the second place, it is evident that the problem of the perishing and dangerous classes must grow in importance with every increase of the growth and numbers of great cities. Such has been the entire experience of modern as of ancient civilization. I do not forget for an instant

that the massing of men gives great opportunities to virtue. Heaven forbid that we should fail to remember, in view of the perilous future, any part of the influence of the tendency of men to cities, to stimulate the press, the pulpit, and the school! Here is the place, as we pass from point to point along the summits of current history in order to discern our duty to the immediate future, for this audience to pause solemnly, and with our fathers' graves beneath our feet, and as in the sight of Almighty God, to emphasize the tremendous moral responsibility of school, pulpit, press, parlor, and law in our great cities, and to the land's end of every rural district as well; for as the streams that supply the sea with unpolluted waves are supplied from the far fresh mountains, so the moral vigor of cities can be kept up only by the inflowing streams from the far fresh mountains that send unsullied life to the coasts. It is easy for the city to under-rate the country. The rural school and church that formed earliest Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, Horace Greeley, did something for cities. The physicians say, that, generation after generation, the majority of the strongest brains in business and in public life are born in the country. But the quickening which the metropolitan school, pulpit, press, parlor, and law ought to receive from local opportunity is nearly equalled by the quickening that ought to spring from the power of metropolitan influence in rural districts. I do not underrate that quickening. But it is the notorious, stern truth of history, that, much as cities do for virtue, they do vastly more for vice. You doubt this? Would that the proof were not so near home! One-half the criminals of Massachusetts, for example, are found in Boston. Mr. Phillips has shown that for ten years the returns proved that forty-two per cent of the population of the county in which we are to-night assembled was arrested for crime, while in other counties the number was only one, two, or three per cent.¹ This is the result of massing up here property and

¹ Phillips, Wendell: Speech on a Metropolitan Police; Speeches, Lectures, and Letters, p. 507.

population. It is a part of the operation of the inevitable laws of human nature in the present state of human culture, and in the present arrangements of philanthropic endeavor. Boston has one-half the criminals of Massachusetts, and yet only one-sixth of the population. I instance no other city whatever; for Boston, which proves the proposition in question, is probably the most unfavorable example for the proof that could be adduced from the whole circuit of the earth.

THE EXAMPLE OF NEW YORK.

I need, and it is suggestive that I do need, in the third place, only brief proof that the growth and influence of great cities, unless the problem of the perishing and dangerous classes can be solved in consistency with American representative government, are the chief perils in the future of democracy in the United States.

New York is dear to me, from the great Sound to the Great Lakes, from the Adirondacks to Niagara, as are the ruddy drops that visit this sad heart. It is my native State. But it must be confessed that it is the Empire State in iniquity as well as in commerce. New York City is not an American city. For every fifty thousand voters there of native birth, there are seventy thousand of foreign. No American city could be managed as New York is.

Holding the lurid light of the example of New York, as of a blazing Gorgon's head, as a lamp above the investigation, consider, first, the power of the votes of a corrupt city population in city elections. There are not two cities on the continent of over two hundred thousand inhabitants, in which the local elections are not in the control of the perishing and dangerous classes. Consider, secondly, the power of a corrupt city population to subsidize the city press, and thus poison the fountains of political influence for the country at large. Let fall here the light of the Gorgon's head. In the third place, remember its power to awe or cajole into silence many metropolitan pulpits. In the fourth place, notice the power it possesses to corrupt the metropolitan

judiciary. Let the Gorgon light fall here. In the fifth place, remember its capacity to resist State law in spite of State police. Remember the confessed insecurity of property and life in New York City; and the whispered clamor — unthinking, indeed, but suggestive — of some New York merchants, to have New York governed as Paris is. In the sixth place, notice the power of its accumulations of capital to influence the management of large bodies of wealth in the rural districts. In the seventh place, remember its complicity with the periodic panics of trade, and the frauds that imperil State and National credit. Do not quench the lamp of New York here. In the eighth place, notice its complicity with the worse party in State elections, and its power in great crises to do national damage. Let fall here the light of the history of New York in the riots of the war, or of Paris, city of all the devils, as Carlyle calls it, as it managed all France in the French Revolution. In the ninth place, remember that there is nothing to check all this but the ballot of the majority. And lastly, notice, as has already been stated, that the population of cities in the United States increases with twice the rapidity of that of the whole country.

POWER OF THE WHISKEY RING TO CONTROL CITY ELECTIONS.

Nor, in the fourth place, need I pause upon the proof that the chief perils from the perishing and dangerous classes in great cities arise from intemperance and its associated vices. When the subject of a municipal police was first brought before the Massachusetts Legislature, this proposition was discussed in a scholarly way; and Mr. Phillips has repeatedly presented this single point in a popular way. He was hissed in this city last night for going so far as to assert, that, for twenty years, the mayor and aldermen of Boston have been but a committee of the places for gambling and of the liquor shops of the peninsula. The year 1900 will not hiss Wendell Phillips. Since he last night took Boston, let us to-night take New York, as an illustration. In New York City and Brook-

lyn, there are now, or were before the recent breaking down of the law closing on Sabbaths the places for the sale of liquors, and before the inundation of new licenses, seven thousand places where liquors are openly sold. Suppose each place can control two votes. Probably each can, on an average, control five or ten. Politicians in the field estimate that the whiskey ring in New York City can and does, when it pleases, send twenty-five thousand votes to the polls. But suppose each place controls only two votes. The fourteen thousand votes, having one object, and held together by immense financial interests, can control any city election. Precisely here is the knot that chokes democracy in our great cities. Precisely here is the vulnerable point in all rosewater theories for the management of the temperance reform. Precisely this power to control city elections is the perch on which the whiskey ring, bird of evil omen, in plumage bathed in night, the Poe's raven of democracy, sits and responds, as the city population seeks its lost Lenore of good government,

"Nevermore, nevermore."

Politicians on the spot estimate that twenty men, with the imbruted and dangerous population at their beck, control the New York City elections. It is a part of the odiousness of the power of the whiskey ring, as it was of that of slavery, that it is the power of an oligarchy.

SECONDARY CAUSES OF INTEMPERANCE.

But, beyond all this, statistics proving that fifteen twentieths at least of the crime of the land would be cancelled if intemperance were eradicated, are so common, that, even when put forth by learned judges, half century after half century, or by men like Gov. Andrew, not open to the suspicion of holding extreme views as to the temperance reform, the attention they excite is in inverse proportion to that which they deserve. Bad lodgings, insufficient food, excessive physical labor, ignorance, all the secondary causes of intemperance, may be kept in mind. They deserve a

hundred-fold more study than they have ever received. It will be the wisdom of the temperance cause to keep them in mind hereafter, more than it has in the past. But make all allowance for their influence, and they dip only a few surface waves out of this deep sea, which the immense fraction of fifteen twentieths represents. Uncleanliness of lodgings is as rarely found with the temperate poor, however closely they are crowded, as it is found absent from the intemperate. Poverty and moral disintionement are not necessarily connected: intemperance and moral disintionement are. I do not underrate the secondary causes, but they can be easily overrated. A loaf of bread is a good weapon with which to spoil a decanter, but a decanter is a better weapon with which to spoil a loaf of bread. "Crime and tippling," says Gov. Andrew, who makes the most of the secondary causes, "are so linked together, that, if we could banish tippling, the judges have a thousand times declared that crime, unable to live alone, would follow too."¹

Let me say then, in the last place, that, if the temperance reform in the United States needs justification in its moral or in its legal aspects, it finds it in the transcendent political necessities of democracy itself in relation to corrupt great cities.

So much for the dangers to good government in the United States, from the power of the whiskey ring.

EFFECTIVE TEMPERANCE LEGISLATION A POLITICAL NECESSITY IN A REPUBLIC.

I turn now to measures of relief. These are, in sum, the arousal of the forces of pulpit, press, and parlor. These are the sources of public sentiment, without which behind it law is a ship in the belt of calms.

I beg that I may not be understood as opposed to efficient temperance legislation. It is on the pedestal of precisely the political and social necessities of which I have been speak-

¹ Andrew, John A.: Errors of Prohibition; speech in Representatives Hall, Boston, April 3, 1867, p. 73.

ing, that the principle of prohibitory legislation, whatever we may say of this or that detail in particular prohibitive enactments, finds its place, at a height far out of the reach of all objections as to sumptuary laws. Only prejudice or misconception regards prohibition as a sumptuary law. The central principle of Mr. Mill's essay on Liberty, that government may interfere with social arrangements only in self-defence,¹ is, in a republic of great and corrupt cities, enough to justify prohibition. Mr. Mill has been considered happier in his central theory than in some of his applications of it. He would have no law imposing restrictions on the sale of even the most notorious poisons.² The friends of prohibition adhere to Mr. Mill's central principle. They do not accept his judgment as to some of its applications. The sober judgment of American statesmanship and of American enlightened communities, year after year, is a better authority on these applications than that of any European scholar who has not studied America on the spot. It is not my purpose to discuss legislative enactments to-night, as the honorable society for which I speak, though not opposed to prohibition, makes moral effort its main object. But it would be unnatural not to remark, in passing the point of view at which we now stand, that effective temperance legislation, in a republic of great and corrupt cities, is a political necessity. I affirm that the prohibitory principle is justified by the political necessities arising out of the structure of American society. I know not that any one prohibitory law has ever been enacted, all the details of which I could approve. But the principle, in view of our circumstances, needs no better defender than Mr. Mill himself. There are some who think that there may be a call for a law imposing on the dealer in liquor, by some new adaptation of the ordinary processes of assessment, the necessity of paying for the damages he does. It may yet become the cry, "Taxes caused by rumsellers should be paid by rumsellers." I have read a large part of

¹ Mill, John Stuart, on Liberty, American edition, p. 23.

² *Idem*, pp. 185, 186.

the voluminous testimony taken in the license hearings, in 1867, in the State Capitol yonder. Few things in it are more striking than the answers in which Professor Peabody of Cambridge expressed without reasons his belief in the practicability of such a law.

THE MINISTRY AND PROHIBITION.

Pitiful indeed are the excuses by which any citizen who is opposed to prohibition would make its existence a reason for relaxing moral efforts in face of the perils that are inevitable if those efforts are absent. It is commonly objected, and even by portions of the ministry, that the attention to legal suasion in temperance has destroyed public enthusiasm as to moral suasion. Some ministers say that they cannot preach on temperance, because they do not wish to seem to set on men to prosecute each other under temperance laws. A minister's influence is in the unity and affection of his parish; and when temperance is preached, the effect now is, it is said, to stir up political differences that undermine ministerial influence. I reply, first, that the example of a vast proportion of the Protestant ministry in New England, and in some denominations of that ministry the example of the vast majority, prove that temperance can be preached even under prohibition, and parishes not be divided, and the affection of communities not alienated from their religious teachers. I reply, secondly, that at this moment the moral appliances of the temperance reform are having, as they have had for ten years past, wide application and extraordinary success in the temperance social organizations and bands of hope. The temperance reform, indeed, can never again be a novelty. The enthusiasm of novelty has passed away. I reply, thirdly, that in the States of the Union where prohibition is not the rule, we do not find, even where the differences between the communities are no greater than between Massachusetts and Connecticut, that moral suasion has greater life than in States under prohibition. I reply, fourthly, that, in seven instances out of ten, this objection

comes from individuals, who, from inheriting the habits of a past generation, or from peculiarities of social training, have not adopted, either in theory or in practice, the principle of total abstinence. I am not discussing the validity of that principle ; but it is pertinent to remember Aristotle's words, " On the temperate man, perhaps forthwith, by motion of his temperance, ensues sound opinions as to temperance ; but, on the intemperate, the opposite on the same subject." A pulpit silent on temperance discredits itself as much as a pulpit silent on dishonesty. Christianity is at least not below Buddhism. But in the Buddhist code there run these words, "Thou shalt not kill ; thou shalt not steal ; thou shalt not lie ; thou shalt not commit adultery ; thou shalt drink no intoxicating liquor." It is not improper to recommend to a very few metropolitan pulpits, that, on one point, if they cannot preach Christianity, they should preach Buddhism. If under any haze, exegetical or social, there are eyes that cannot find, in the letter or in the spirit of Christianity, what is so plainly inculcated in Buddhism, then this fifth Buddhist commandment should be commended to them as a text. No inculcation or shy inculcation of the Buddhist fifth commandment ! That, in the majority of cases, is the practice of the Romish pulpit, by which our city populations are so largely influenced ; and therefore the Protestant pulpit in cities should be the more awake.

THE STATE POLICE.

In recommending specific measures for relief from the whiskey ring in great cities, I must begin by saying that there are two instrumentalities which will not be found measures of relief.

An effective measure of relief from the whiskey ring will not be found in the system of State police. I do not object to State police as not democratic. It has been repeatedly pointed out that the republican plan of government is that the executive should be co-ordinate in the sphere of its power with the legislature and the judiciary. The legisla-

tive power of the State makes certain laws for all the State. The executive power of the State should execute them in all the State. This is the true theory of democratic institutions. It was the practice in Massachusetts until about fifty years ago. Neither do I object to the State constabulary as inefficient. It has been over and over asserted by the calmest judges, that the State police of New York is the only thing that makes New York City inhabitable. The State police is efficient. It is not sufficient. The power of the whiskey ring cannot be broken by the State police, because the police does not reform, and was not intended to reform, the imbruted population which the whiskey ring makes its instrument of power. Only the moral forces of the pulpit, press, and parlor can destroy secret intemperance. The tremendous responsibility of moral suasion in the temperance reform arises, and will always arise, whatever laws are enacted, from the fact that it, and it only, can check secret intemperance, and drive the traffic itself out of places that the law is never intended to reach.

LICENSE AN INEFFECTIVE MEASURE OF RELIEF.

An effective measure of relief from the power of the whiskey ring will be found in the conduct of the temperance reform on the basis of moderate indulgence and licenses. If any thing is sure, this is. We have now had license laws more than two hundred years. The drunkenness of the land has grown up under them. Twenty years the temperance reform was conducted in consistency with the principle of licenses. Twenty years its own concessions undermined the effect of its own claims. Up to 1836, the common pledge was not for total abstinence. Twenty years the reform gained hold of the intemperate, only to lose great masses of them, until the National Temperance Convention in 1836 placed the reform on the basis of total abstinence. There are men in this audience who remember the heated discussions on this theme. Are we now to forget all that agony? The trouble with Gov. Andrew's speech in the recent license

hearings is, that its date is precisely 1835. Much of the science that is vital to his argument is equally old in date, and will not bear the microscope, though that is another matter.

MIDDLE TEMPERANCE MEN.

The first measure of relief I recommend is the endeavor to secure the full allegiance of all that class who may be called middle temperance men; who, although not in the most advanced ranks of the temperance movement, are above the whiskey ring, and hate it. The vote of this class, put with that of the more advanced, would control nearly any city election. It is in the power of pulpit, press, and parlor, by means perfectly well known to social and political life, to secure the allegiance of this class. Great mistakes are made in assailing this body of men as careless of the public weal. I must say I think there is a wide class of merchants who are accused too frequently of being sordid. The Boston merchants! The Eastern Massachusetts merchants! They founded Amherst College; they built Dartmouth; they erected Andover; they endowed Harvard University. They have been the almoners of the benevolent institutions of Boston, which are its greatest local pride.

SOCIAL DRINKING.

A second measure of relief is a discountenancing of social drinking in club-rooms and parlors, as an unwitting, it may be, but an effective ally of the whiskey ring. When prohibition is executed, the club-rooms blossom. But it is not far from the lower club-rooms to the whiskey ring, nor far from the upper club-rooms to the parlor. John Bright, however, finds drinking strikingly falling into desuetude with the members of the English Parliament during his acquaintance with it. Henry Wilson finds the same true of the American Congress. Mark Hopkins said in the Capitol there, that in Williamstown it was a social discredit to offer wine to guests. Whoever knows the best social parties of Boston,

knows it is no social discredit to omit wine. If it were permitted me, I might instance three of the highest hosts any man can have in Massachusetts, who set this example. It is the peculiar misfortune of Miss Flora McFlimsey and my Lord Verisopht to consider themselves the upper ten of society. But when the true upper ten are studied, the college presidents of New England, for example, and not the parvenus of Saratoga, the example against wine drinking is steadily growing. Social drinking is not the right hand, but the left hand, of the whiskey ring. Certain belated defenders of wine drinking make a wide distinction between the dietetic and the narcotic influences of alcoholic liquors. Suppose the narcotic effect were wholly taken out of social drinking, how long would the custom stand on the basis of the dietetic effects alone?

A third measure of relief will be found in the increased use of all appliances for the removal of the secondary causes of intemperance. George Peabody knew at what he was striking, when he provided funds for lodging-houses for the poor of London. The temperance reform must feel itself affiliated with all the great charities; and it may lean much on them, without leaning more heavily than they lean on it.

A fourth measure of relief is the omnipresence of such forms of temperance organization as shall secure the presentation of the subject and of the pledge statedly to the entire population. Hon. Henry Wilson has recently urged this point with great force. A chief value of temperance organizations is that they reach classes the pulpit and parlor, however much inclined, do not reach. It is the peculiar need of the reform, that societies should be organized to reach the most imbruted.

THE LATEST LIGHT OF SCIENCE AS TO TEMPERANCE.

A fifth measure of relief will be found in the use of the most advanced light of science as a weapon.

I care not if it be proved that alcohol is not literally

a poison. It is practically such, and of the worst class of poisons; namely, a brain poison. Take the work of Mr. E. L. Youmans, the chemist, on alcohol and the constitution of man. It proves, if any thing can be proved, that alcohol, under the chemical and vital laws, has a local affinity in the human system for the brain.

Nothing in science is less questioned than the law of local affinities, by which different substances taken into the system exert their chief effect at particular localities. Lead, for example, fastens first upon the muscles of the wrist, producing what is known among painters and white lead manufacturers, as a wrist drop. Manganese seizes upon the liver; iodine, upon the lymphatic glands; chromate of potash, upon the lining membrane of the eyelids; mercury, upon the salivary glands and mouth. Oil of tobacco paralyzes the heart. Arsenic inflames the mucous membranes of the alimentary passages. Strychnine takes effect upon the spinal cord. Now, as all chemists admit, the local affinity of alcohol is for the brain. Dr. Lewis describes a case in which the alcohol could not be detected in the fluid of the brain cavities, nor indeed in any other part of the body, but was obtained by distillation from the substance of the brain itself. Dr. Percy distilled alcohol in large quantities from the substance of the brains of animals killed by it, when only small quantities could be found in the blood or other parts of the systems of the same animals. Dr. Kirk mentions a case in which the brain liquid of a man who died in intoxication smelt very strongly of whiskey; and when some of it was taken in a spoon, and a candle put beneath it, it burned with a lambent blue flame! But brain is the organ of mind. Whatever is a disorganizer of the brain is a disorganizer of mind, and whatever is a disorganizer of mind is a disorganizer of society. It is from this point of view that the right of government to prevent the manufacture of madmen and paupers can be best seen. I care not what men make of the famous recent experiments of Lallemand, Perrin, and Duroy of France, by which half of the medical profession, including

Dr. Carpenter, has been carried over to the support of the propositions that alcohol is eliminated from the system in totality and in nature, is never transformed and never destroyed in the organism, is not food, and is essentially a poison. I care not, on the other hand, what men make of the proposition Mr. Lewes defends, that alcohol may be a negative food! The local affinity of alcohol for the brain! This is a great fact. It is a fact uncontroverted. It is a fact sufficient. It is a fact to be heeded even in legislation.

Moral dissuasion from vice has now the authority of the fixed sciences. It need not be sentiment. It may be mathematics. The vices have all been made vacant of attraction to the reasonable by the progress of science. Intemperance is overrated. Every physical vice is overrated. He is far behind the age, who does not know, that, weighed in the scale of pure selfishness and exact science, every vice kicks the beam. Apples of Sodom, fair to the sight, dust and ashes to the taste, are among the oldest symbols of mythology for the vices. It is peculiarly true that they are the latest symbols of the scalpel and the microscope. The superiority of bliss to pleasure is a fact of the fixed sciences.

CHALMERS'S EDINBURGH PLAN FOR THE MORAL AMELIORATION OF THE PERISHING AND DANGEROUS CLASSES.

A sixth measure of relief I shall call the Chalmerian Edinburgh plan for the moral amelioration of the perishing and dangerous classes. Chalmers took the most degraded quarter of Edinburgh, — a spot where apothecaries had committed murders by dropping men through trap-doors in order to sell human skins to physicians, — and washed it white; and it is white to this day. The magic power was simply his famous territorial principle; assigning a special district to a special church, to be worked in until the task was overtaken by visitation, religious services, Bible schools, secular schools, and all the appliances of lay effort. This system has spread widely in Scotland, and is to-day the best hope of its crowded populations. I beg leave to recommend the chapter

on the West Port in "Chalmers's Life" by Dr. Hanna, and Chalmers's work on the "Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns," as perhaps the most suggestive record the whole past contains as to the problem of relief from the whiskey ring.

MODERATE EDUCATIONAL TESTS.

A last measure of relief I shall venture to say must eventually be found in keeping the suffrage within certain moderate educational tests. I would have no man deprived of the suffrage who enjoys it now. But, when State constitutions are revised hereafter, I would have it remembered, that in New York City, for example, if only those could vote who can read, some eighteen thousand votes would be dropped out of every local election. This simple change, it is said by politicians in the field, would give the control of New York into the hands of its virtuous and industrious classes. Most of the worst corruptions of New York have grown up since 1821.¹ The State Convention of that year changed the constitution so as to admit ignorant suffrage. Martin Van Buren, in that convention, predicted precisely the results which have followed. There are other points on which temperance men must vote right, if they are to break the power of the whiskey ring, besides temperance laws.

I am here to-night to ask that these remedies be applied persistently and thoroughly and hopefully, and to ask this in the name of democracy itself.

DEMOCRACY, PHILANTHROPY, AND THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD — PROVIDENTIAL FACTS.

I am aware that I have drawn a dark picture, though intentionally less dark than the facts warrant. But I do not despair of democracy. I am little prone to take superstitious views of history. But Alexis de Tocqueville, thirty years ago, wrote his "Democracy in America" under the

¹ Parton, James: North American Review, Articles on New York City, 1866 and 1867.

impulse of religious awe induced by the passage of current events. He regarded democracy, progressing for centuries by irresistible revolutions, as a movement visibly driven forward by the hand of God. In the gradual development of the principles of equality, he saw a providential fact. He found in it all the chief characteristics of such a fact: it was universal, it was durable, it constantly eluded all human interference, and all events as well as all men contributed to its progress.¹ He saw in the change the sacred characters of a Divine decree, and professed that he wrote under the impression of a kind of religious terror produced by the view of an irresistible revolution that had advanced for centuries, and was still advancing in the midst of the ruins it had caused. That revolution progresses yet. It is universal. It is durable. It constantly eludes all human interference. All events as well as all men contribute to its progress.

There are two other tendencies of history which have the character of providential facts, and before which I, for one, stand in awe. They are philanthropy in the Church and out of it, and the scientific method in the schools.

In spite of every corruption, there is a law in human affairs by which human conditions improve from age to age. Macaulay, in contrasting the present century with the seventeenth in England, presents in vivid outlines the proof that our ancestors were less humane than their posterity. "A man pressed to death for refusing to plead," he says, "a woman burned for coining, excited less sympathy than is now felt for a galled horse or an overdriven ox."² On all this misery society looked with profound indifference. Nowhere could be found that restless and sensitive compassion which has in our time extended a powerful protection to the factory child, to the Hindoo widow, to the negro slave; which peers into the stores and water-casks of every emigrant ship; which winces at every lash laid on the back of a drunken soldier; which will not suffer the thief in the hulks to be ill-fed or

¹ De Tocqueville, Alexis: *Democracy in America*, vol. i., Introduction.

² Macaulay, Lord: *History of England*, vol. i. pp. 394, 395, American edition.

over-worked; and which has repeatedly endeavored to save the life even of the murderer." That sensitive and restless compassion! The abolition of slavery, the abolition of serfdom, the purification of literature, the banishment of torture and the Inquisition, the disuse of duelling, the bursting forth of the missionary enterprise, the reform of prison discipline, the American Sanitary Commission, Howard, Elizabeth Fry, Florence Nightingale, echo the words of the historian. They are the marks of a providential fact. The tendency of the last two hundred years is toward practical philanthropy. The movement is universal. It is durable. It constantly eludes interference. All events as well as all men contribute to its progress. I stand in awe before this movement, which lived before we were in the world, and will live when we are in it no more forever.

The universal power of the scientific method over thought is another providential fact. The movement toward the use of the scientific method in all forms of investigation is universal. It is durable. It constantly eludes all human interference. All events as well as all men contribute to its progress. In the hands of philanthropy, it will be applied to legislation as well as to moral dissuasion from vice, and to the darkest social problems.

It is because democracy is a providential fact, and because I see side by side with it the providential facts of philanthropy and the scientific method, that I bate not one jot of heart or hope.

Sooty Manchester; reeling, lower London; frivolous Paris; maddened, thievish, murderous New York, — God bears all these in remembrance, and means to heal their bloody ulcers, and bring to their leprosy, in time, the health as of an infant.

MORAL SUASION FOR THE TEMPTED; LAW FOR THE
TEMPTER.

Moral suasion for the tempted; law for the tempter. This may fairly be said to be the outline of the wisdom reached under the guidance of philanthropy and the scien-

tific method in the discussions of the first half century of the temperance reformation. It has been proved by experience that either half of this precept is defective without the other. The two halves are two wings. In the first decades of its history, the reform tried the first nearly without the second. In late years, it has used the second without enough employment of the first. But, whenever it has tried to move on one wing, its flight has been a sorry spiral. It is not claimed that either wing is yet fledged to the full. But there is now historic ground of hope, that, when both pinions are grown, and both used in equal librations, the reform, as an archangel flying with steady vans in mid-heaven above the nations, and dispensing blessings, is to make the circuit of the globe.

SLAVERY AND THE SALOON IN POLITICS.¹

SLAVERY, before the civil war, did not cause the destruction of fifty thousand lives each year, as the liquor traffic now does in the United States. Slavery never whipped or starved or worked to death as many human beings in any one year previous to the Rebellion as the liquor traffic now kills every year in our nation. Slavery never cost the people as much in any one year outside the war as the liquor traffic now costs them. When the liquor traffic, which is already more murderous than slavery ever was, becomes as domineering as slavery became, its death-knell will be sounded. The crack of the whiskey-dealer's whip in Municipal, State, and National politics is already becoming as resonant as was once the slave-dealer's lash.

The writer of this article, owing to the exigencies of travel, was unable to vote in the last Presidential election, and is to be regarded as an advocate of a national reform party, rather than of any existing third party.

Is it advisable to attempt a re-organization of political parties on such lines as to make constitutional prohibition a national issue? Besides the use of all moral, religious, and educational measures applicable to the case, a new political party was found necessary to the abolition of slavery. Besides all moral, religious, and educational measures, the use of which in their utmost vigor is here taken for granted, can it be shown that a new political party, or a re-organization of parties, is necessary to the abolition of the liquor traffic?

¹ Republished from a Symposium on Prohibition in the Homiletic Review for October, 1885.

I. The political necessity of dethroning the liquor traffic in Municipal, State, and National politics will ultimately force the people to make such new arrangements as are necessary for their self-protection. Political necessity overthrew slavery. Political necessity will yet make the liquor traffic an outlaw. Municipal misrule is now the chief mischief in American politics. Its longest root is the liquor traffic. At the opening of the century, only one-twentieth of our population lived in cities. To-day, nearly one-tenth of the population is found in our ten chief towns. Fifty other towns of thirty thousand inhabitants, and over, contain another tenth. One-fifth of our population is now found in cities large enough to have corrupt municipal governments. It is estimated that one-quarter of the voting population of our cities is made up of the employees and the patrons of the liquor saloons.

De Tocqueville predicted that the growth of great cities would ruin the American Republic, unless they are kept in order by a standing army. Lord Beaconsfield was accustomed to lift up his jewelled finger and point across the Atlantic, and affirm that not one American city of commanding size is well governed under universal suffrage, or ever will be. Sir Robert Peel predicted that American forms of government will fail to protect life and property in crowded populations. "As for America," said Lord Macaulay, "I appeal to the twentieth century. Either some Cæsar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government with a strong hand, or your republic will be as fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians in the twentieth century as the Roman Empire was in the fifth, with this difference, that the Huns and Vandals who ravaged Rome came from without her borders; while your Huns and Vandals will be engendered within your own country and by your own institutions." As Wendell Phillips was accustomed to say, "While rum rules the great towns, universal suffrage is a farce." But universal suffrage is not to be given up, and is to be made effective in securing all the ends of good government.

Precisely this is the Sphinx's riddle in American politics, — how to remedy the mischiefs of universal suffrage by means of universal suffrage. Govern great cities well under a free ballot, and the American Republic can be preserved; otherwise, not. Outlaw the liquor traffic, and great cities can be governed well under a free ballot; otherwise, not. The love of liberty and home in the Anglo-Saxon races is stronger than the love of intoxicating drinks. If it is clearly seen that the protection of liberty and home under universal suffrage is impossible without destroying the liquor traffic, the latter will be destroyed. When the mischief of municipal misrule, already so threatening, shall have become absolutely appalling, the people will remedy it, under the law of self-defence, by striking at its chief root.

II. The aggressiveness and arrogance of the liquor traffic, its vast wealth, its unscrupulous and insatiable thirst for power in municipal, state, and national politics, make its overthrow seem, as that of slavery did, a reform too prodigious to be effected under universal suffrage. But this very aggressiveness and arrogance will operate in the case of the liquor traffic as they did in the case of slavery.

Affairs may become worse before they are better; but they will become better through growing worse.

The moral enormity of slavery was the chief subsidiary cause of its overthrow. The moral enormity of the liquor traffic will sustain the conscience of the nation in making an end of the political power of the whiskey rings. As it is possible that the moral argument against slavery might not alone have secured its abolition, so the moral argument against the liquor traffic might not be enough to arouse the people to the enactment of constitutional prohibition as a National measure. But slavery was overthrown because it poisoned the leading political parties, and attempted to control the National Government. The abolition of slavery became, and so may the abolition of the liquor traffic become, not only a moral, but a political, and at last a military necessity.

The dram-shop oligarchy in the United States now consists of some two hundred thousand brewers, distillers, and dealers, united by common interest and a formal organization, and commanding a capital estimated at twelve hundred million dollars. The seat of its power is in the sediment of civilization. The enormous profits of the liquor traffic may make it as desperate as slavery was in defending its alleged rights. The drink bill of the United States is now not far from one billion dollars every year. This is more than the nation expends for meat or bread or public education, or for all three of these together. The dram-shop oligarchy is already as powerful, if not as audacious, as the slaveholding oligarchy was.

The attempt of the liquor traffic to secure a national constitutional amendment, forever prohibiting National prohibition, will undoubtedly prove a suicidal policy. If, in some closely contested National election, the liquor traffic should foster riots, or be so insane as to take up arms in defence of its alleged rights, as slavery did, its destruction would be incredibly hastened. It is not impossible that some closely contested election, municipal riot, and the disturbance of State legislation may ultimately bring about, as they have already come near to doing in Maine, Cincinnati, and Chicago, a collision between the corrupt elements controlled by the whiskey rings on the one hand, and the masses of respectable citizens, as represented by the authority of law, and by the army on the other. It may be that the power of the whiskey rings in the great cities will be broken in some street barricade war.

III. The hammer which breaks the lawless power of the liquor traffic will have insufficient force unless wielded by the National arm. To confine the sphere of political prohibition to the States, is to forget that, in regard to importation, inter-State commerce, and law for the District of Columbia and the Territories, the National Government has exclusive jurisdiction. It is to forget also, that, in the probably severe conflicts of the future, between the law

and the lawless classes led by the liquor traffic, the Federal power, as in the case of several important riots already, will be found necessary to the preservation of order.

As, in the case of slavery, a political necessity of the first magnitude gradually caused the formation of the Republican party; so, in the case of the liquor traffic, a political necessity of the first magnitude is gradually forming a Prohibition party.

IV. As the anti-slavery education of the people gradually rose to such a height as to justify the people in making slavery an outlaw, so the temperance education of the people is gradually becoming so thorough that it will uphold the public conscience in making the liquor traffic an outlaw. No more important work for the advancement of the temperance reform has been done in this century than that which has brought the legislatures of fourteen States of the Union to enact laws making scientific temperance common-school education compulsory. Mrs. Hunt, to whose spiritual insight, political sagacity, and unselfish and indefatigable personal activity this reform owes its remarkable success, predicts with confidence that in ten years after scientific temperance education is given with as much thoroughness in the common schools as is now a knowledge of arithmetic and grammar, the nation will contain a majority of voters in favor of constitutional prohibition. If a majority of voters are not at present in favor of stern legal measures against the liquor traffic, it seems now morally certain that a majority of the next generation will be.

Already fourteen States of the Union have favored legislative prohibition with more or less steadiness; seventeen favor local option in the counties and towns; while Iowa, Kansas, and Maine, by great majorities, have adopted constitutional prohibition. After a generation of experience of the working of prohibitory laws in their legislative form, the State of Maine enacts constitutional prohibition by a majority of three to one. The experience of the States that have adopted constitutional prohibition has justified the

people of these commonwealths in making the liquor traffic an outlaw.

Constitutional prohibition is a rising tide. It needs to rise but a little higher to be deep enough to float the reform, not only in State, but also in National politics.

V. The feasibility of the proposal to secure an amendment to the Federal Constitution making the liquor traffic an outlaw is certainly as great as that of securing a similar amendment abolishing slavery appeared to be forty years ago.

At one time or another, more than half of the voters of the United States have recorded themselves as in favor of either prohibition or local option. Let this half be increased by agitation and political necessity to three-fourths. The Constitution might then be so amended as to express the will of the people. A National Constitutional Amendment requires a two-thirds vote of Congress; and afterwards a majority consent of three-fourths of the States. There are now thirty-eight, and may soon be forty States in the American Union. Let it be assumed that thirty States must be gradually carried by the friends of prohibition in order to give success to the reform in its National aspects. Let the insolence of the liquor traffic increase. Let municipal misrule, under the stimulation of the dram-shop oligarchy, grow more and more virulent. The example of Kansas, Iowa, and Maine would, in these circumstances, become contagious. A concentration of effort on State after State would ultimately secure a majority in three-fourths of the States. The requisite two-thirds in Congress, and subsequent ratification by the States, would follow.

Canada, by vote of the Dominion Parliament, has submitted the question of National prohibition to its people. District after district has declared for it. It is the confident expectation of the friends of the reform, that Canada will soon make the liquor traffic an outlaw by National enactment.

It has been affirmed with confidence by a careful specialist on the subject of prohibition, that "there are but three

States in the American Union where there is even a plausible reason for affirming, that, if the voters were divided into two parties on this issue, the anti-prohibitionists would have a majority." Those States are Pennsylvania, Illinois, and North Carolina.

There are reasons for believing that a majority of the people, in a majority of the States of the American Union, are in favor of severe prohibitory legislation. A distinction is to be made between a majority of the people and a majority of voters, and also between a majority of voters and a majority of any political party. If the votes of all the population above twenty-one years of age, including women as well as men, were taken, it is already probable that prohibitory measures would be carried in all except perhaps ten of the American commonwealths. These exceptional States are afflicted by great and corrupt cities, but would not outweigh, in a National vote, the suffrage of the sound part of the whole population.

It is not impossible that in a majority of the States a majority of legal voters would favor constitutional prohibition, were it fairly submitted to the people in an entirely non-partisan way, wholly disconnected with other issues. The reluctance of either of the leading parties to allow the submission of the question to the people in this manner is proof that party managers have a secret conviction that the reform might be carried were it thus allowed to have a fair chance in a non-partisan canvass.

What the people greatly desire they will ultimately achieve under American forms of government. That the growth of great cities and of the mischiefs of municipal misrule will cause the desire of the people for constitutional prohibition to increase, is inevitable. The people will have their way. The people will protect themselves. In a good and great cause the people are invincible, and ought to be.

When a State has given its consent to an amendment to the National Constitution, the act of ratification cannot be made void without revolution; the assent cannot be legally

withdrawn: so that in its National aspects the reform, once carried, would take no steps backward. This principle of constitutional law was settled at the time of the ratification of the Federal Constitution, and re-affirmed with peculiar emphasis in the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment. Ohio and New Jersey, after adopting that amendment and forwarding notice of their vote to Washington, attempted to reconsider their action. The validity of this step was contested by Mr. Seward, then Secretary of State, and the reconsideration was set aside by Congress.

VI. In a majority of the States of the Union, the leading political parties have refused to submit constitutional prohibition to the people in a non-partisan way. They have refused to allow the submission of a constitutional amendment to the masses of voters of all shades of political opinion. Such an impediment to the execution of the will of the people must inevitably suggest the re-organization of political parties, and perhaps the formation of a third party, destined ultimately to become second and first.

The growth of the political power of the whiskey rings over both the leading parties is so rapid, that these parties, even if induced to allow the submission of the question of constitutional prohibition to the people, could not be expected to execute a National prohibitory law were it enacted. A re-organization of parties is therefore necessary, not only to secure the enactment of National prohibition, but also to execute it.

The friends of constitutional prohibition cannot be united under either the Democratic or Republican banner; but the growth of great cities necessitates the union of all temperance men to resist municipal misrule, and so a re-organization of parties is indispensable as a means of securing this union.

VII. There has been formed already a Woman's Christian Temperance Union of National dimensions and prodigious influence, and it has committed itself to the policy of favoring the re-organization of National political parties so as to advance constitutional prohibition as a reform in National politics.

There has been organized, whether wisely or unwisely, a National Prohibition party, which is not likely to disband in presence of the colossal political necessities which must ultimately justify, even if they have not already justified, its existence.

Both at home and abroad, the Roman Catholic Church, with its immense political influence, is more and more emphatically taking ground in favor of severe legal measures for the repression of the liquor traffic.

In a re-organization of political parties, only those issues that are of the highest political moment should be taken up by a National reform or prohibition party. Unfinished work of superseded parties must, of course, not be forgotten, although no longer needing the foremost place. The new organization should dazzle all its opponents, but should be neither too broad nor too narrow, and should call on the people to settle but one great issue at a time.

VIII. Parties are scaffolding. When the building for the erection of which they were constructed is finished, their natural destination is reconstruction for use on some new building. They are to be taken down. Their timbers may be employed usefully in a new arrangement for a new purpose. Party *inertia* is apt to insist that mere scaffolding is to be left standing after the use of it has ceased. This is one of the absurdities of party spirit. The Republican party has built its house. The Union is saved. Slavery is abolished. These twin towers in the vast palace built by the use of the Republican scaffolding will be seen in history far and wide for ages. A new palace is needed by the people. A new moral issue demands a re-arrangement of the old scaffolding. A third tower, as lofty as either of the others, is to be constructed.

The comparison between the conflict with slavery and that with the liquor traffic must not be pressed too far; but, on leading points, it is most striking. Slavery was sectional, and so was the organization of parties in opposition to it and in defence of it. The liquor traffic is intrenched in all

quarters of the land; and so the division of parties concerning it will not be geographical, but moral. But, on this account, the struggle for its suppression may possibly be the more prolonged and complicated. The abolition of the liquor traffic will naturally proceed, as did the abolition of slavery, by the use of the forms peculiar to our State and National politics. As slavery was abolished, so will the liquor traffic be abolished, first in some of the States, then in the Territories, then in a majority of the States, and finally in the nation as a whole by constitutional amendment.

The whiskey traffic in the great cities is guilty of nullifying both State and National law on most vital points, and of practically seceding from its control. The prohibitionists are the new constitutional abolitionists.

In the conflict with the liquor traffic, as well as it was in the conflict with slavery, political necessity will be the mother of political invention. The immense moral and social, financial and industrial, civil and political mischiefs produced by the liquor traffic are constantly augmenting. Either the liquor traffic must be made an outlaw, or the safe government of crowded populations under universal suffrage must become impossible.

In an alternative of life or death, the American Republic, in a conflict with the liquor traffic, will be found to be as heroic and wise as it was in the conflict with slavery.

IX. In full view of the reasons now given for a re-organization of parties in support of National constitutional prohibition, it is not difficult to reply to current objections to such a political reform.

1. It is objected that a third political party cannot succeed. The reply is that the new party is to be made a success by its necessity. If there can be only two great parties in the country at once, the new party proposes to be one of the two. As only one party can succeed in gaining the highest place of power, the new party proposes to be that one.

Dr. Spear's proof that a third political party cannot succeed is extremely like the ancient proof of the impossibility

of motion. A body cannot move where it is, and it cannot move where it is not, and therefore it cannot move at all. A third political party must either be where it is, i.e., in a minority; or where it is not, i.e., in a majority. In the former case it can effect nothing in legislation; in the latter it is not needed, for other parties will do its work: and therefore a third party is not desirable, and cannot succeed at all. This dilemma is more curious than cogent. *Solvitur ambulando*. As the alleged proof that motion is impossible is overthrown by motion itself, so the assertion that a third political party cannot succeed is overthrown by the historic fact that such a party has again and again succeeded in American politics.

The Republican party was once a third party. The Whigs and Democrats were both its opponents. It ultimately absorbed most of the former, and a few of the latter, and so defeated both, and became one of the two great parties of the country.

The Whig party was once a third party. Its opponents were the Federalists and the Democrats. It absorbed most of the former and some of the latter, and so ultimately became a second party.

The Federalist party died, partly because its objects were accomplished, and partly from opposition to the war of 1812. It attempted to swallow the Hartford Convention, and so hastened its own destruction.

The Whig party died from subserviency to slavery. It attempted to swallow the Fugitive Slave Law, and so perished.

Every great reforming party for nearly a century in American politics has begun as a third party, and little by little won the position of a second party. Political reform of a high character has never been carried in the United States without a re-crystallization of the best elements of different existing parties, and the formation of a substantially new party in its support.

A distinction should be made between the urban and rural States; for a third political party organized to support prohibition may not be necessary in the latter, although plainly

so in the former. In a State like Iowa, non-partisan, political action in support of prohibition is probably wiser than would be the formation of a third political party; but in any great urban State, like New York, Pennsylvania, or Illinois, a third party seems to be, or likely to become, a public necessity. It is in the field of the National Government, however, that this necessity is the most indubitable; for neither of the great national political parties can be expected at present to make national constitutional prohibition a political issue.

2. It is objected that the success of National constitutional prohibition would destroy the balance of power between the Federal and State Governments.

This was a familiar objection to the doctrines of the Republican party, and especially to the powers assumed by Congress and the Executive during the war against slavery. It is plainly no greater limitation of State rights for the people to outlaw the liquor traffic by an amendment to the National Constitution, than it was for them to outlaw slavery in the same way. No one objects to the proposal that there should be a National enactment against polygamy, and also a National divorce law.

It is really preposterous to assert that giving the general Government power to abolish the liquor traffic in the States would injure the balance of Federal and State power as much as to give the General Government supreme power "in respect to *any* other subject that is now properly regarded as a matter to be regulated by State authority." ("Homiletic Review," April, 1885, p. 312.) The election of State officers, and of senators and representatives, is now regulated by State authority. The assertion just cited amounts to saying that National prohibition would destroy the balance of Federal and State power as much as it would to give the choice of all State officers to the Federal Government.

3. It is objected that the attempt to re-organize political parties, so as to give success to constitutional prohibition in National politics, will keep the Democratic party in power.

Henry Clay was defeated by the defection of a few Abolitionists from the old Whig party. The results were a Democratic administration under Mr. Polk, a Mexican war, and the slaveholders' rebellion. But who will say that the organization of the Liberty party and of the Free Soil party, which ultimately became the Republican party, was unjustifiable. The Liberty party first appeared in American politics in 1840. In a remarkably close vote in the State of New York, Henry Clay was defeated in 1844, as Mr. Blaine was in 1884, by the defection of a few who were denounced as third-party men. But these voters became the founders of the Republican party, to which belongs the unmatched glory of suppressing the slaveholders' rebellion, abolishing human bondage, and preserving the Union. It was sixteen years from the defeat of Henry Clay to the election of Lincoln. Birney, Van Buren, Hale, Fremont, were defeated candidates of the Republican organization or of its immediate progenitors. For nearly a generation, the third-party movement, which gave us the Republican party at last, was in a minority. Let the National reform party, or the prohibition movement, have as much time as the abolition movement had in which to conquer the prejudices and power of opponents, and its success may be as remarkable as was that of its present rival.

The re-organization of political forces out of which the Republican party rose produced temporary inconveniences, but was justified by its final effects.

It has been proved by a hundred years of experience in American politics, that the only safe thing for the people is to do right, and allow Providence to take care of the results. At all hazards, honorable men must avoid moral iniquity in politics. As it was not right, but morally iniquitous, to vote for a party in bondage to the slave power, so it is not right, but morally iniquitous, to support any party that is in bondage to the liquor traffic. Ninety cents paid to the National Government for every gallon of whiskey manufactured in the United States make the Federal power a

member of the dram-shop syndicate, and a collector and participator in the profits of blood-money.

4. It is objected that the organization of a new party would subject the cause of National constitutional prohibition to all the dangers of party spirit.

There are two kinds of party spirit,—the philanthropic and the mercenary. The former is the glory of young parties of high moral aims; the latter is usually the vice of all old parties, however noble their purposes may have been at first. It would diminish the dangers from the mercenary side of party spirit to organize a new party, animated by a great philanthropic purpose.

X. It is the right and the duty of the friends of constitutional prohibition, both State and National, to stand together. They cannot stand together inside either the Democratic or the Republican party. They are not allowed to stand together outside these parties in a non-partisan way. They are forced, therefore, to stand together in a partisan way; that is, in a new political organization.

The growth of great cities, and the spread of democratic forms of government, make the experiment America is trying in universal suffrage an enterprise of world-wide interest. The solution of the problem of the right government of crowded populations by a free ballot is a matter of transcendent importance to all civilized nations. Constitutional prohibition, therefore, with its allied political issues, is a reform of which the field is the world. The formation of a new political party enshrining a great moral idea is an event of high religious as well as secular significance. It is a strategic step in both national and cosmopolitan progress.

“New occasions teach new duties; Time makes ancient good uncouth;
They must upward still and onward, who would keep abreast of truth.
Lo! before us gleam her camp fires; we ourselves must Pilgrims be;
Launch out Mayflowers, and steer boldly through the desperate winter sea.”

LOWELL: *The Impending Crisis*.

NEWEST PROMISES AND PERILS OF THE TEMPERANCE REFORM.

ADDRESS AT CHICKERING HALL, NEW YORK, SUNDAY, DEC. 4, 1887.
(STENOGRAPHIC REPORT.)

IT was my fortune, Mr. Chairman, and Ladies and Gentlemen, in the year 1871, soon after the German army entered Paris, to sit for a few minutes with Thomas Carlyle in his study in Chelsea, London, and to hear him say, "All governments that are ruled by universal suffrage descend with incredible velocity into the jaws of perdition. In sundry cities of the New World, and a few of the Old, democracy has been promising for an hundred years to make good butter out of brown sand; but no good butter is forthcoming." A broad ballot in great towns under the rule of the whiskey rings inevitably lifts the scoundrel class to the summit of affairs in politics. It is a familiar, and yet a peculiarly modern peril, that great cities are growing out of all proportion faster than the rest of the population of the world, and that they have never yet been satisfactorily governed under universal suffrage. The philosopher of Chelsea had no confidence in the power of republican institutions to cope with the perils of crowded populations under political bondage to the dangerous classes of the slums. Was he right in this distrust, or are we right in cherishing confidence that we shall ultimately find the promises greater than the perils of our democracy even in cities of commanding magnitude? This central question of modern civilization can be answered satisfactorily only by reforms so radical, permanent, and commanding, that both the listless and the lawless

among our citizens think them unattainable. But the Sphinx riddle must be solved, or terrific penalties accepted. We shall solve it, because we must; and we must, because we can. When the path to political preferment leads through the gin-mills, free government is a farce, and its future is likely to be a tragedy. The American people, at the fifty-ninth minute of the eleventh hour, usually comes to its senses, and does shake off any evil that threatens to be fatal. It did so in the conflict with slavery. It may be expected to do so in the greater conflict with the saloon. The liquor traffic has more money behind it than slavery had. In the destruction of property and lives, it injures the country more every year than slavery did in any year before the civil war. Although I hope we shall tide through our conflict with the saloon without a military contest, I am not so certain that by and by it will not be necessary to put down the whiskey syndicates by the strong arm of the law, supported by the bayonet. We have all lived to see the abolition of slavery; and why is it incredible that some of us may live to see a greater evil—the liquor traffic—made an outlaw by both State and National enactment? (Applause.)

In full view of the promises and perils of our nation as a whole, I am to discuss the Newest Promises and Perils of the Temperance Reform. In quantity, if not in quality, there is something novel in both the hopes and the fears of the temperance cause at the present hour.

To begin with the list of promises, let me say, in the first place, that I assume that in the world of science the justifiableness and expediency of total abstinence have been settled once for all. He is benighted and belated who is not a total abstainer. So the life assurance societies themselves now tell us. On the other side of the Atlantic, several life assurance companies, for more than a generation, have been accustomed to assure total abstainers and moderate drinkers in separate sections. The total abstainers have received a bonus of fifteen, seventeen, and sometimes twenty-three and twenty-five per cent over the sections containing moderate

drinkers. Here is a result which ought to put an end to the blushes of young men who do not like to be known as entire abstainers. Your life assurance societies are a pedestal on which you may stand erect and proclaim to the world in trumpet voice your adherence to the scientific principle of total abstinence. We are to teach this principle in our schools in the name of the latest results of science. We are to introduce it into the pulpit as the doctrine of that word of God which is made known in natural law, and which is as truly divine law as any ever proclaimed from Sinai or in the Sermon on the Mount. We are to consider this issue closed for the parlor as well as for the pulpit, the platform, and the press. When mediæval and fossilized ideas of social duty or privilege defend tippling, we are to spurn it from us on the authority of the freshest scientific investigation. (Applause.) Cool, commercial and financial considerations governing life assurance societies now completely and finally justify total abstinence. (Renewed applause).

A second promise is the broadening of the education of the young in the newest inculcations of science. We have now in this Republic more than thirty States and Territories in which the children are under laws requiring scientific instruction concerning alcoholics and narcotics. This is a new field for the temperance reform, and in my judgment one of the most important it has ever entered. Mrs. Hunt of Massachusetts, as you know, has been successful in bringing not only the legislatures of more than a score of States, but the National Government, to the support of laws making scientific temperance instruction compulsory. Her success in this effort is an eighth wonder of the world. I think her work is perhaps as solid as any that has been done for the temperance cause in our generation. Although she is a modest lady, and is not as often heralded by the press in her travels and in her sacrifices and successes in legislative halls as she should be, I doubt not that her name is destined to sparkle on the extended fore-finger of history when a better age than ours makes up

its jewels. (Applause.) She it is who has brought our schools into such a condition that a majority of the voters who will rule this country at the opening of the next century are now under compulsory scientific instruction as to alcoholics and narcotics. This is a great advance, it is a great promise, it is an outlook full of hope; for these young people will create a new sentiment for the parlor, for the press, for the platform, and so ultimately for politics. Unflinching prohibition, State, National, and International, is likely to be carried at last by the votes of that majority of children in English-speaking countries, who are now receiving instruction in the latest inculcations of science concerning total abstinence.

A third element of hope is found in the wide arousal of all free populations to their political duty concerning the liquor traffic. (Applause.) The dethronement of the saloon is the greatest issue in American politics. The liquor traffic, you think, will never cease to be a scourge; but certainly it may cease to be a legalized scourge. The growing conviction of the vast heart of the people is, that both the legalized and the lawless saloon must go. (Renewed applause.) There is a tendency to ignore other questions, and to thrust this to the front, among the good men of all the parties. I am spending almost half of my time looking into the faces of audiences between Plymouth Rock and the Golden Gate, and I assure you that the most thoughtful part of our population utters no uncertain sound as to the conflict that is coming with the legalized traffic in liquor. (Applause.) We are far more nearly a unit in this matter than politicians dream. As in religious affairs denominationalism separates us, so in political affairs a miserable political denominationalism separates us. But we work together in great crises; and so it will be found that the rising deluge of temperance sentiment will lift itself above denominationalism, and we shall see one level body of water stretching over it, so that, when a billow is raised anywhere, it will break at last on all the shores. (Renewed applause.) I am not one of those

who hang in effigy the leaders of the Prohibition party. I rejoice in whatever brings political action anywhere into strategic lines of opposition to the saloon.

A fourth sign of hope is that the Church is rousing itself. The churches ought to rise to as high a level as the schools. If the majority of our youth are in schools where instruction in total abstinence is required by law, why, I ask, ought not the pulpit to lift itself as high as legislatures at Albany or Sacramento? If the ladies of the land have lifted legislatures to this height, should not pulpits lift themselves to at least as high a level as the schools under the leadership of the legislatures of to-day? Never have the churches been more thoroughly aroused to their duty in the temperance field than at present. The soundest work for temperance must be done in our Sunday schools, in our homes, and around our family altars.

In view of these promises of the temperance reform, I am hopeful, I am more than cheerful, in my outlook; and yet, before I sit down, you will think that I have come here to discuss only the darker side of my theme, and play the part of a Cassandra.

To turn now to the insufficiently emphasized perils of the temperance cause, the first of these is the assassination of unsupported champions of law and order, like Haddock and Gambrell, the memory of whose names and martyrdoms may Almighty God bless! It is only a few months since I stood alone on that spot in a street of Sioux City, where in the darkness of a rainy and vaporous night that devoted preacher, that moral hero, Mr. Haddock, was shot down in a most cowardly manner by an unknown assassin. I addressed an audience a little later from his pulpit. Its associations yet fill it with holy fire. In front of it I took the hand of his widow, her eyes flaming with a better light than ever was on sea or land. The memory of her countenance haunts me. Justice has not been done in the case of this martyrdom. The good people I met in Sioux City, in a visit of three or four days, expressed but one opinion to me as to the

probabilities in the case. But I was amazed to find many hopeless as to the final triumph of justice. The son and biographer of the martyr closes his book by predicting that the murderer will escape. The case is going on, and God be with it! You would not justify me in saying more while the matter is under legal consideration; but I think it my duty here and now to call attention to the fact, that the prosecution of the assassins of Haddock is lacking funds, and has been obliged to call on the country, through the lips of the widow, for money to support legal activity in the case. You have heard that, in the fourteenth century, Arnold Winkelreid, fighting in Switzerland with his companions against invaders of its free hills, said to his comrades, "Yonder is the enemy. I have a wife and children; I leave them to your care. I will rush forward, and gather a sheaf of spears into my bosom; and, when I have made a gap in the living line in front of us, do you rush forward, and break through to victory." He did so; and, gathering themselves up for a supreme effort, the army broke through the host of invaders, and gave Switzerland a long career of liberty. Mr. Haddock was the Arnold Winkelreid and the Lovejoy of the temperance cause: he rushed forward almost unsupported in Sioux City, and gathered into his bosom a fatal sheaf of the spears of the enemy. It is your duty now to support his widow in her efforts to secure justice. He was murdered because he was unsupported. Nobody doubts in Sioux City that he was killed by instigation of the saloons, and killed purposely. Murder was threatened against any man who should bring a complaint against a number of the saloons that were in prosperous circumstances. Two or three women were brave enough to make complaints; but this chivalric man said, "I cannot, as a preacher, allow ladies to brave peril in such a case as this. If peril is to be met, I must assist at least in sharing it." And so, almost unsupported, he brought into the courts complaint after complaint, until at last he was shot down. Any unsupported champion of law and order, against lawless saloons, puts in peril not

only his property, but his life, almost anywhere in any great town in the United States, at the present day. This fact is amazing and humiliating to an unspeakable degree. Look at the assassination of Gambrell in Mississippi; look at the various attempts at assassinations elsewhere. The liquor traffic to-day, like slavery fifty and seventy years ago, is sprinkling the land with the earliest blood of martyrs; and it ought to be the seed of gigantic reforms. (Loud applause.)

In the second place, I beg leave to call your attention to the peril of the perversion of compulsory temperance instruction, by the inculcation of loose views concerning moderate drinking. There has been placed in my hands, and I think it important to ask you to examine, a document issued by the authority of that branch of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union which is represented by Mrs. Hunt. Here are very responsible names, hundreds of them, — some of them congressmen, some governors, others leading philanthropists, as well as presidents of colleges. Information is given to the effect that various publishers, some of them in your own city, are issuing text-books which excuse the usual habits of society concerning wine-drinking; and that the school committees of large towns are thrusting these books upon the attention of the unformed minds of the young. A gigantic perversion of the temperance laws concerning scientific instruction as to alcoholics and narcotics is going on in large parts of the vast range of our population which those laws now cover. I wonder that this peril is not more discussed. Look at the case for yourselves. We have labored up a height, gained the summit, planted our batteries; and if the enemy is to take that height, and reverse our guns, they have the advantage of the elevation. It is an enormous triumph for the temperance people to have obtained compulsory instruction in the schools as to the latest science in reference to alcoholics and narcotics. But if, instead of text-books that represent sound and honest science, there are introduced into the schools sly apologies for moderate drinking, we are assassinating the youth of our land. This is one of

the very newest and one of the most important perils of the temperance reform. I will read an official document of the scientific department of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, signed by Mrs. Hunt and others, and now in circulation from sea to sea, and the Lakes to the Gulf.

TEMPERANCE TEXT-BOOKS.

A REMARKABLE PETITION TO PUBLISHERS.

DURING the last five years, the legislatures of twenty-three out of our thirty-five States, and the National Congress for all the ten Territories, have made the study of scientific temperance compulsory "for all pupils in all their public schools."

The population of these States and Territories is over one-half that of the whole country. Thus America's majority to-morrow is in these schools of to-day.

It was the intention of those who secured these laws, that the children should have the latest science concerning the dangers and hurtful qualities of alcohol used in any degree, and the peril of forming the habit of its use.

The law requires this; nothing less than this will ever satisfy its friends.

Those text-books that only point out the evils of drunkenness, and the danger of excessive use of alcoholic drinks and narcotics, do not meet the requirements of the law, and do not satisfy those who secured its enactment, and who are determined to secure its enforcement.

A petition, therefore, has been signed by many legislators who voted for these laws in various States and in the National Congress; by the representatives of temperance organizations, who are familiar with the sentiments, and are entitled to speak for the very numerous membership, of different churches and other bodies extending widely throughout the land; and by citizens, who speak for themselves.

This petition makes a respectful and earnest appeal to all publishers of text-books on this subject, to revise their publications to conform to the latest results of scientific inquiry, and to meet the terms and spirit of these statutes; so that public and authorized expressions of approval and indorsement of all such books can be issued and given wide circulation.

Such an appeal to all publishers effectually refutes the charge, that the friends of temperance instruction are pecuniarily interested in the sale of any particular book. It is because the question of total abstinence for the children of this country, and therefore of their well-being, and that of the land soon to be governed by them, depends largely upon the teachings in the text-books employed, that this appeal is made.

Among the signers of this petition are twenty-two gentlemen, members of the National Congress, who were influential in securing the passage of the statute enacted by that body, requiring the study of scientific temperance in all schools under the control of the Federal Government. These names are led by those of Hon. John J. Ingalls, president *pro tempore* of

the United States Senate, Senator H. W. Blair from New Hampshire, Senator Palmer from Michigan, Senators Hoar and Dawes from Massachusetts, Senator Frye from Maine, and others.

Congressman Long of Massachusetts, Hon. George W. Geddes of Ohio, Hon. A. S. Willis of Kentucky, Hon. James O. Donnell of Michigan, Hon. E. N. Morrill of Kansas, and Congressmen Conger and Hepburn from Iowa, are among the petitioners from the Lower House of the same Congress.

Prominent among the list of governors who have signed this petition, is the name of Gen. James A. Beaver, present governor of Pennsylvania, and that of Lieut. Gov. James L. Howard of Connecticut.

Leading the names of representatives of the medical profession among the petitioners, are those of Henry I. Bowditch, M.D., of Boston, Mass., of international fame; Samuel W. Abbott, M.D., secretary of Massachusetts State Board of Health; and S. G. Webber, M.D., superintendent of Adams Nervine Asylum.

The names of presidents of many important colleges are among these petitioners: William F. Warren, D.D., LL.D., of Boston University; Julius H. Seelye, D.D., LL.D., of Amherst College, Massachusetts; E. G. Robinson, D.D., LL.D., of Brown University, Rhode Island; James W. Strong, D.D., LL.D., of Carleton College, Minnesota; James H. Fairchild, D.D., LL.D., of Oberlin College, Ohio; and George F. Magoun, D.D., of Grinnell College, Iowa, and others.

The name of Hon. William E. Sheldon, president of the National Teachers' Association of 1887, stands in this connection on this petition, as representative of the best sentiment among teachers in the public schools of America, supported by such names as Hon. John W. Akers, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Iowa, Hon. E. E. Higbee, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Pennsylvania, and others.

Among the names attached to this petition, known to the world as great ethical teachers through the press and from the platform, are those of E. E. Hale, D.D., LL.D., J. H. Vincent, D.D., LL.D., Joseph Cook of the Boston Monday Lectureship, and others.

From the Methodist Episcopal Church, the names of Bishop Andrews of Washington, D.C., Bishop Merrill of Chicago, Bishop Hurst of Buffalo, Bishop Walden of Chattanooga, and Bishop Bowman of St. Louis stand on this petition for total-abstinence teaching for the children.

The editors of fourteen great religious papers of the country, representing various denominations, are among the signers; viz., Henry M. Dexter, D.D., of "The Congregationalist," Boston, Mass.; H. K. Carroll, D.D., LL.D., of "Independent," New York City; John W. Olmstead, D.D., of "The Watchman," Boston, Mass.; J. M. Buckley, D.D., LL.D., of "The Christian Advocate," New York; Simeon Gilbert and F. A. Noble, D.D., "Advance," Chicago; Arthur Edwards, D.D., of the "North-western Christian Advocate," and others, with editors of notable secular newspapers.

That the petitioners are purely undenominational, will be seen by the presence of the name of John Boyle O'Reilly, editor of "The Pilot," on the same page.

The names of temperance committees, who stand for great religious denominations, are among the signers.

If space would allow the printing of the entire list of signers, the reader would see many additional names of persons whose opinions have national influence.

As a whole, the petition constitutes an expression of the best public sentiment of our country, in favor of teaching to the children of the United States the full truth of science against strong drink, and in favor of total abstinence.

The following persons have been selected from the signers, as a committee of correspondence in reference to any revisions that may be attempted in response to this petition :—

MARY H. HUNT, *National Superintendent of the Scientific Department of the W. C. T. U.*

WILLIAM E. SHELDON, *President National Teachers' Association of 1887.*

DANIEL DORCHESTER, D.D., *Vice-President of Massachusetts Total Abstinence Society.*

ALBERT H. PLUMB, D.D., *President Massachusetts Amendment Committee.*

JOSEPH COOK of the *Boston Monday Lectureship.*

The names of eminent physicians and college presidents in this paper show that those who support the movement for scientific temperance education in the common schools are by no means poorly instructed as to what science is as interpreted by some of the foremost scientific authorities in the land. It is time for us to attend carefully to our choice of school committees, as well as to our choice of mayors and aldermen; it is time for us, in short, to resolve that this great educational height which we have attained with so much labor shall not have the guns we have placed upon it reversed and fired into the bosom of the youth of the land. (Applause.)

A third peril to which I beg leave to call attention is the negro vote of the South, which has lately in many cases disappointed the friends of prohibition. It is important that we should make a distinction between different classes of our colored fellow-citizens, for some of them are strong temperance men. You were addressed lately on this platform by a prince among orators, Professor Price, who at a dinner that I lately attended in Boston, a large number being present, and some

very eloquent speakers in the number, was the most eloquent speaker who addressed the assembly. He assured that gathering, however, that education in temperance is the thing now most needed among the freedmen of the South, and that if we are ever to recover the Gulf States to sound temperance principles we must educate the colored voter. Why have I dwelt so long on the importance of carrying out the new laws as to education concerning temperance? Because several of the Southern States have such laws, and it is immensely important that these laws in commonwealths having a large negro vote should be carried out to the letter. You had four millions of slaves at the close of the civil war. You have now eight millions of colored people in the South. Judge Tourgee predicts that from the mouth of the Potomac to that of the Mississippi, the tier of Coast and Gulf States will be thoroughly dominated by the black vote in fifty years. We must open our eyes to the fact that the black race is to have a great future in this country as a political force. White people will never labor continuously in fields on which snow never falls. The tropics, I believe, and even the borders of semi-tropical regions like the coasts of the Gulf of Mexico, are to be industrially manipulated by the black race. The white race may officer the black population in the tropics, but nowhere on the globe has the white race ever labored continuously in the fields where snow never falls. Say what you please, snow is necessary to the vigorous, permanent industry of people of our color. White people have lasting energy under the snow-fall, and not under the perpendicular sunbeam. In India we fade out, in Central Africa we fade out, in the lower edges of China we fade out, in Central America we fade out. These vast regions are to be given to the colored population. If you wish to save the torrid zone, save the colored race. (Applause.)

A fourth form of mischief is the international activity of the liquor traffic in poisoning populations hitherto temperate.

The vast magnitude of the rum trade now entering Africa and the Orient is a new peril to advancing civilization.

In this matter the temperance cause has an international opportunity and responsibility. Take the island of Madagascar; hold it up before your conscience, in the eye of God. That island lies under great heat, and yet not under the worst influence of the tropics. It had a temperate population not very many years ago. It became very largely Christian in the habits of its people. What happened? White men found that sugar could be raised profitably in the classic island of Mauritius, — once, as you remember, the home of Paul and Virginia. The refuse of the sugar mills was transformed into rum of coarse quality. The liquor was too poor to go to England: it was sold to the natives of Madagascar very largely, and the result was that crime leaped up year after year until it attained enormous proportions. The king of the country paid the duty on the imported liquor, caused the heads of the casks containing it to be staved in on the shores, and executed a royal prohibitory statute as well as he could. What happened next? British officials interfered with the king. The merchants of Mauritius complained that their trade was in danger. Pounds, shillings, and pence triumphed over considerations of patriotism and Christian principle. Liquor was forced upon Madagascar, as opium has been upon China. The king who had endeavored to exclude liquor from his country died. His son became a helpless drunkard and a criminal maniac, and was finally assassinated by order of his own privy council. Madagascar has given itself up to drunkenness through large circles of its population, and is to-day showing us how a savage race, coming into contact with the vices of civilized peoples, is gradually swept off the face of the earth.

Canon Farrar has gone so far of late as to say that the liquor traffic in Africa is becoming a greater evil there than the slave-trade ever was. Madagascar illustrates well what is occurring along the sunrise coast of the Dark Continent, and in the British provinces at the Cape of Good Hope, and in many of the regions on both banks of the Congo. I have been told, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, that, if the

ocean could be drained dry, the old tracks of the slavers from Africa to this country could be marked by the windrows of skeletons at the bottom of the sea, cast overboard from floating hells that brought slaves to your Southern cities. The brown expanse of Africa is stained yet with the trails of the bloody caravans that carry out slaves to Asia. I have seen myself, from the deck of an English steamer in the Indian Ocean, a slave-ship making its fullest speed to get out of sight of the British flag. We are told that chases across the track of the steamers to India often occur between the British men-of-war and the fleet of Arab and Persian cruisers who carry slaves from Africa to the shores of the Persian Gulf. Now, if it be true that Africa is to be inundated with liquors of the worst quality; if her populations are to be burned up as some of the native populations of this country were, in whiskey; if with their torrid appetites they are to take hold of this poison as perhaps no race on earth ever did before, or if there is at least great danger that a whole continent may be thus poisoned and decimated, is it too much to say, that, as we once pursued the slave-trade on the seas, we ought now to begin to think of an international law prohibiting the liquor traffic between our civilized pagans at home and these uncivilized pagans on distant shores? (Applause.) My dear friend Miss Willard lifted up her voice at Nashville lately in favor of an international treaty forbidding the sale of intoxicating liquors in the South Pacific Islands. Great Britain and our Government have been importuned to support a treaty of that kind. I am sorry to say that our Government, as at present advised, has declined to do so. But the day is coming when just as we now prohibit piracy and the slave-trade on the seas, we shall prohibit this accursed traffic which ministers so fatally to the weakness, the ignorance, and the barbaric appetite of the African. (Applause.) Here is an international aspect of the temperance reform, that I, for one, have not heard discussed as frequently as I could wish. It is high time that England and America should join hands to check the terrible deso-

lations now occurring through the international traffic in the worst of liquors. You are told sometimes, that, as the American Indian has faded away, the African will yet disappear before a superior civilization. It has been wildly predicted that the Japanese, Chinese, and Hindoos will gradually be improved off the face of the earth. Even if they are, our white race will not live in the tropics. Who will live there? I am speaking in a city renowned to the ends of the earth for its colossal commercial operations. Do you think you benefit your honest trade by fostering the liquor traffic among barbarians? Cotton cloth is needed in Africa. There are a multitude of household utensils that ought to go there as civilization advances. The day may soon arrive when England and the United States will have a most important market on the Congo. England hopes by and by to have as good a market there as she has to-day on the Ganges. Let these populations become drunken and degraded, and their demand for other articles than those that come through the rum traffic will not grow very rapidly. All legitimate commerce is fearfully injured by this leech of the whiskey traffic. Degrade a population at home or abroad, and you diminish the number of its demands for the articles of civilization. It is the interest of trade to throttle the liquor traffic in the lands that are yet in the period of infancy and barbarism. (Applause.)

Africa is beginning to catch fire with appetite for liquor. India, a temperate country under the Hindoo and the Mohammedan religions, is becoming an intemperate one under English rule. When my friend Mozoomdar, the Calcutta reformer, was here, he told me that the characteristic remains of English rule thus far left in Hindostan are whiskey bottles empty. Japan, filled with a subtle and sensible people, is by birth naturally temperate; but the fierce liquors of the Occident begin to grow popular with the Japanese. The world knows, and history will remember, what the Chinese, a patient people, full of mercantile sagacity, suffer from opium thrust upon them by the most powerful empire

of all time. I hold with Dudley Field of your city, that the day has arrived when we should stretch the broad wing of international protection over nations in their infantile and barbaric state, and treat them as we should have wished to be treated when we were in our cradles. The tropics are catching fire. These events have significance at home as well as abroad. In the name not merely of State and National considerations, but of international and cosmopolitan, let us do our whole duty to universal civilization, and demand that as the slave-trade has been put down by the strong arm of the law of nations, so the international liquor traffic shall be put down likewise.

I mention next, among the insufficiently emphasized perils of the temperance cause, the partnership of our National Government in the profits of the whiskey manufacture. Ninety cents tax on every gallon of whiskey, and ninety-three on every keg of beer, make our National Government a participator in the profits of blood money. (Applause.) Miss Willard has called this tax a compact with perdition. I venture to indorse this strong language; and, although you may think it politically inexpedient to call for the abolition of so profitable a tax, Americans have suffered enough for pursuing expediency in the face of principle, to listen with patience when one demands that we take our hands out of the tills of the whiskey rings. We never shall be able to dethrone the liquor traffic in American politics until we cease to be silent partners in its gains. Our national surplus in the treasury is about what the income from the internal tax amounts to year by year. If we were to abolish those taxes, it would become both necessary and possible for Government to attack the manufacture boldly. Financial obesity arising from partnership with the fleecers of the poor and the corrupters of youth is not a promising symptom in a young nation like ours. If these things occur in the green tree, what will occur in the dry? I maintain that it is time for the National Government to cease to be a partner with the whiskey rings in the profit of the manufacture of strong drink.

A large new peril to the temperance reform is the possible decision of the Supreme Court, making the Fourteenth Amendment apply to the liquor traffic. Legislation of a later date than the Fourteenth Amendment will be governed by the interpretation it is about to receive. You may, by and by, find that the audacity, the secular sagacity, and the unscrupulousness of the whiskey rings have attached the Fourteenth Amendment as a gigantic scythe to the right arm of the judicial department of the United States, and with it are ready to mow down at a swoop all your recent prohibitory enactments from sea to sea. What is likely to happen if that thing is done? Ask that temperance hero, Dr. Talmage of Brooklyn, whom may God bless! He says, if we are defeated in the Supreme Court, the people will be not merely appalled and amazed, but aroused; and that from such a defeat we shall lift ourselves to a political triumph over the whiskey rings, such as the American Republic has never before achieved. (Applause.) I am willing to know the worst on this subject, and to know it early. It is high time for us to instruct our politicians, and to educate the people to sustain the shock if the decision goes the wrong way, and to make that shock the occasion of a rebound that shall lift us to a loftier triumph than we have hitherto attained.¹

I name as a last peril the national unity of the liquor traffic, and the application of its power as a whole to nearly every important local issue of a political kind in which the interests of the liquor traffic are at stake. What caused the recent defeat of prohibitory laws in Atlanta? Had prohibition grown unpopular in the vicinity of that thriving town? Did the voters of Georgia, uninfluenced from outside the State, trample on prohibition at the recent election in Atlanta? Ask the whiskey rings of the great Northern States who furnished the money to defeat prohibition in Georgia. The other day, in Ohio, it was my fortune on Saturday night to lecture in a town of ten thousand inhabit-

¹ The decision of the Supreme Court, given a few days later than the date of this address, was all that the friends of prohibition could desire.

ants, in the northern part of the State. I asked my chairman how temperance politics stood in that community. "Why," said he, "we are most of us for prohibition, but we never can carry prohibition at the polls. There is only a small vote here in favor of the saloon, but the saloon always triumphs." I said, very naturally, "Does Cincinnati interfere with your elections?" "Exactly that," said he; "and this outrage occurs year by year, and there is more and more audacity in the interference as the seasons pass." Here is a country of a number of republics, some of which are nearly balanced in their political characteristics. The Democratic whiskey dealers in all parts of the nation say, that if prohibition is favored in any State, they will do their best to see that the party ruling that State shall be defeated elsewhere in closely contested elections, both local and national.

As a skater can throw his whole weight now on one foot, and now on the other, so the liquor traffic throughout the nation can throw its whole weight on a local issue. The National force of the liquor syndicate is becoming enormous, and there is no way of meeting it except by a National organization as powerful as itself. The liquor syndicate in this land is an acrobat, acting for the most part under the shield of deep secrecy, and throws weight now upon this foot, and now upon that, to crush every egg that appears to carry in it the germ of prohibition. The power of the wealth of the liquor traffic of New York, Chicago, San Francisco, and New Orleans is brought to bear upon local elections thousands of miles from those centres. It is very well understood that the liquor party is a unit in important elections, and hence its terrific power in the circles of working politicians. The growth of the financial power of the whiskey rings over the press is perhaps quite as mischievous as the growth of their political power over various parties. My conviction strengthens with every setting sun, that nothing will save our country except such an awakening of outraged public sentiment as shall shake journalism and politics forever free from the sovereignty of the saloon.

What are the remedies for these perils? One remedy is the re-organization of politics. But the only adequate measure of relief is a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull all together, of our educational, social, and religious, as well as of our political, forces. What do I want? The success of the third party? Yes, if that is necessary for the safety of the Republic. Do I want the success of the Republican party? Yes, if that is necessary to the safety of the Republic. Do I want the success of the Democratic party? Yes, if that is necessary to the safety of the Republic. (Applause.) I would first of all save the Republic, and after that save any party, Democratic, Republican, or Prohibition. (Renewed applause.) It is a great peril that some of us believe in moral suasion, and do not believe enough in political suasion; it is a great peril that some of us who believe in political suasion neglect moral suasion. The temperance cause has two wings, and the divisions among temperance reformers show how often it is forgotten that the activity of each wing is essential to balanced work of both. Our sainted hero, John B. Finch, made the soil of Boston more sacred than it ever was before, by falling upon it as his last battle-field. Boston has seen many historic deaths; but since Warren in his early manhood fell at Bunker Hill, no death of a young man on her soil has been more pathetic than that of this brave, accomplished, unselfish reformer. He said in the final address of his life, "There is no temperance plank in the platform of either of the leading parties, that has not as many sides as a rolling-pin." He said also, "No party will ever vote right while you give it your vote when it votes wrong." (Applause.) Over his grave, I wish to emphasize those epigrams. Wherever they cut, let them prevail; for they are sense, and God's holy truth. I am convinced that we must re-organize politics; and if you ask me plainly how, I say, "Ask necessity." The people will not wait much longer for the restoration of confidence in the great historic parties. Neither the Republican nor the Democratic party can be preserved in whiskey. (Applause.)

Here you have a city that can out-vote any one of twenty States of the Union. There are only five States in the Republic that have each as much wealth as New York City. And yet half of your Republican primary meetings, and two-thirds of your Democratic meetings, a few years ago, were held in this city in saloons. As Dr. Crafts has said very incisively, "When the saloon does not go to the caucus, the caucus goes to the saloon." It was so in Chicago; it is becoming so in Boston. I frequently heard Wendell Phillips, in my college days, say, that for twenty years the saloons of Boston had governed its mayors. I thought that an oratorical exaggeration, and I used to be indignant with Mr. Phillips for saying such things; but, as epigrams go, that was the truth. It was like a statue at the top of the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral. If an insect alighting upon it were to dissect it, possibly some disproportion might be found in the figure; but, seen at a distance, the figure gives a right impression. So such an epigram, though not strictly true, conveys truth better than a precise scientific statement. One could stand upon Mr. Phillips's door-step in Boston, and count the doors of thirteen grog-shops against which he might have shot an arrow. He lived in that dwelling, a simple, unostentatious house, because his invalid wife lay there, and because he had been dogged home by pro-slavery mobs to that place, and because of the tender associations that clustered around it, connected with many meetings he had had there with reformers. The liquor traffic surged about his feet; the black billows came up around his hearth-stone; and sitting there he would say, "The saloon will yet strain this Republic as slavery never did." You had to organize a new party to put down slavery. Multitudes are convinced that you will be obliged to organize a new one to put down the saloon. Great numbers think that woman's ballot is needed to protect her home from its destroyers.

At least one position ought to be no longer questioned. As it once was the duty of honest men to refuse to vote in favor of any party that was on its knees before the slave

power, I hold it is now the duty of every honest man, no matter to what party he belongs, to refuse to vote for any party that is on its knees before the whiskey rings. I believe in educational measures, and have sufficiently emphasized my desire to see the laws concerning temperance education carried out to the full. I believe in the activity of God's own in the churches. We are all God's own; but some of us have made profession before men and angels that we are citizens of the universal Theocracy, and that our citizenship is on high. Only he whose citizenship is on high, is fit to answer Carlyle's sneer as to citizenship in a republic. If we act as citizens of the universal Theocracy, what shall we do? We shall vote as we pray.

Not far from Haddock's pulpit,—not very far from the place where he lies at rest until the heavens are no more,—I heard a prominent preacher say to his audience one day, "All the children and women of this church are in some one or other particular organization. The men are not yet gathered into any band for special work. I propose to form a Christian league in this church. I wish to see all the heads of families at a preliminary meeting. The object of that league will be to support the pastor in discussing reformatory movements, and every member of the league will consider himself a champion of law and order." Mr. Finch did not believe in the law and order leagues. He used to say, "I pay taxes to the government to take care of my property, and why should I pay taxes to the law and order leagues to help execute temperance laws? When our politics are reformed, we shall need no law and order leagues." There is sense in this position, if leagues are to have only secular objects; but if you organize Christian leagues in the churches, you bring all Christian families into a bond of union, and make it their business to stand by the pulpit, and to use the forces of the parlor and of trade in supporting law and order. There is no moral reform you cannot carry by the combined force of all the churches in this country. I am for the organization of such Christian leagues in all the

churches. I am for making God's people a pillar of fire through which he can look in the morning-watch of better ages to come, and trouble the host of his enemies, and take off their chariot wheels.

As no political party that was on its knees to the slave power deserved support from honest and patriotic citizens, so no political party that is on its knees to the whiskey power deserves support from men of intelligence, conscience, and honor.

Any political party that is more afraid of offending the whiskey vote than the temperance vote of the land is a sycophant of the saloons, — a whiskey spaniel, — and, as such, unfit to be intrusted with power in Municipal, State, or National politics. No saloon sycophant, no whiskey spaniel, makes a safe watch-dog for the people. (Applause).

Without a dominant political party behind it, prohibitory legislation is a sword-blade without a hilt. It is not true, that, when public sentiment emphatically justifies a law, it is always executed. Public sentiment so justifies the law against selling liquor to drunkards and minors; but the law, nevertheless, is not executed. The vast majority of good citizens justify this law, but their will is defeated by the audacity of the liquor syndicate, and the cowardice of party managers. A prohibitory party, therefore, is a supreme political necessity. *Only a prohibitory party in power can give to every temperance blade a hilt, and to every temperance hilt a blade.*

As watchwords for the hour in the temperance conflict, I venture, therefore, to use the salient facts of the hour itself.

Up and on! in the name of temperance martyrs like Haddock and Gambrell.

Up and on! in the name of multitudinous drunkards, madmen, paupers, widows, and orphans, made such by the liquor traffic.

Up and on! in the name of the speed with which the liquor traffic is ascending the throne of American politics.

Up and on! in the name of the shameless corruption of

Municipal, State, and National Government by the liquor syndicate, with its invested capital of a thousand million dollars.

Up and on! in the name of the failure of the leading political parties to grapple with the giant iniquity of the whiskey rings.

Up and on! in the name of the delusion and snare of high license.

Up and on! in the name of law and order.

Up and on! in the name of the growth of great cities, and their coming power in the crowded and hazardous American future.

Up and on! in the name of the large successes of prohibition in the most enlightened and progressive American commonwealths.

Up and on! in the name of the introduction of compulsory scientific temperance instruction into the schools of more than a score of States, and of the District of Columbia, and all the Territories.

Up and on! in the name of the national and international influence of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

Up and on! in the name of the schools and the churches.

Up and on! in the name of both labor and capital, of the workingman and the employer.

Up and on! for God and home and every land.

Up and on! in the name of the fact that Occident and Orient are locking hands.

Let us broaden our views of the temperance cause until they cover not only national, but international issues. There has visited several of our cities lately a British arbitration delegation, representing one-third of the members of the House of Commons, asking for what? It requested the most powerful republic known to all time to unite with the most powerful empire that history has seen, in agreeing that all international disputes which cannot be settled by diplomacy shall be referred to arbitration before war is tried as a remedy. I rejoice in the progress of international peace;

let us extend its scope so as to crush not only the slave-trade and piracy, but also the international liquor traffic. A Woman's Christian Temperance Union now encircles the globe. Not long ago, on a platform in Boston, it was my fortune to place a Bible on a desk, and to request two ladies, who had once been my guests, to stand on each side of it and lock hands. One of these ladies was the Pundita Ramabai, a Hindoo widow of high caste, a daughter of the Ganges; and the other, Frances Willard, an American of the highest caste, a daughter of the Mississippi. They clasped hands over God's Holy Word. The symbolism of those united palms, representing East and West, and especially of the sacred volume beneath them, was an unexaggerated expression of the new hopes, opportunities, and responsibilities now dawning on civilization. I had the solemn joy and the very high honor of lifting that Holy Word with those hands upon it, and of saying as I did so, "Rise, universal womanhood, to the sunlit altitudes of undefiled Christianity; rise, woman, and with you carry up all mankind." There are twice as many people in India alone, as any Cæsar ever ruled. The great Occidental temperance reform joins hands with Oriental social and religious reform. The world is a unit. There are no foreign lands or hermit nations. The sky is the roof of but one family. Every link of reform on which you seize here with firm grasp will draw toward God's bosom links on the other side of the planet. Let us so clasp the temperance reform, and every issue allied with it, that we may draw universal womanhood and manhood into God's bosom so closely that the beating of His heart shall set the time of the beating of the entire heart of humanity. (Great applause.)

APPENDIX.

RELIGIOUS CREEDS COMPLETE AND INCOMPLETE IN ESSENTIALS.

1. THE COMMISSION CREED, A DECLARATION OF FAITH APPROVED BY A MAJORITY OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CREED COMMISSION OF 1883.
2. A REVISED FORM OF THE FOREGOING SUGGESTED BY A MINORITY OF THIS COMMISSION, AND FROM VARIOUS OTHER SOURCES.
3. THE WORCESTER CREED ADOPTED BY THE PLYMOUTH CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH OF WORCESTER, MASS., 1884.
4. ADDRESS ON THE COMMISSION CREED OF 1883.
5. CRITICISMS ON THE COMMISSION CREED IN LETTERS FROM PROF. PARK, PROF. PHELPS, DR. ALDEN, PROF. KARR, DR. THOMPSON, DR. WEBB, DR. PLUMB, AND DR. GOODWIN.
6. ADDRESS ON THE WORCESTER CREED OF 1884.
7. THE OUTLINE OF DOCTRINE PRESENTED IN THE APPROVED REPORT OF THE PRUDENTIAL COMMITTEE TO THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS, 1887.

THE DEATH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

JOHN B. GOUGH AS ORATOR AND REFORMER.

The Board is constrained to look with grave apprehension upon certain tendencies of the doctrine of a probation after death, which has been recently broached and diligently propagated, that seem divisive and perverse and dangerous to the churches at home and abroad.

In view of those tendencies they do heartily approve of the action of the prudential committee in carefully guarding the Board from any committal to the approval of that doctrine, and advise a continuance of that caution in time to come. — (*Resolutions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at Des Moines, Iowa, at its seventy-seventh Annual Meeting, October 7, 1886.*)

1. We consider it a reason for profound gratitude to God that so much of enthusiastic devotion to the cause of missions has been awakened among the young men and young women of our land, and that this Board has been so amply sustained in its demand for funds and for laborers.

2. The Board adheres to the position taken at the last annual meeting at Des Moines concerning the doctrine of future probation, reaffirms its utterances made at that time, and accepts the interpretation of the prudential committee as the true interpretation of its action.

3. We recommend to the prudential committee an unabated carefulness in guarding the Board from any committal to the approval of that doctrine. — (*Resolutions of the American Board, at Springfield, Mass., at its seventy-eighth Annual Meeting, October 6, 1887.*)

The Boston national council of 1865 in its session on the Burial Hill of Plymouth pathetically said :—

Standing by the rock where the Pilgrims set foot upon these shores, upon the spot where they worshiped God, and among the graves of the early generations, we, elders and messengers of the Congregational Churches of the United States, in national council assembled—like them acknowledging no rule of faith but the Word of God—do now declare our adherence to the faith and order of the apostolic and primitive churches held by our fathers and substantially as embodied in the confessions and platforms which our synods of 1648 and 1680 set forth or reaffirmed. — (*Debates and Proceedings of the National Council of 1865, p. 361.*)

And when at Oberlin, Ohio, in 1871, the national triennial council was established, our denominational faith was still declared to be—

In substantial accordance with the great doctrines of the Christian faith commonly called evangelical, held in our churches from the early times and sufficiently set forth by former general councils.

Granting to this qualifying word *substantially* all breadth and force which history can legitimately put into it, or ethics fairly allow it, there must still remain the clear conclusion that the Westminster is, more nearly than anything else, our actual Congregational Creed to-day. — (*Rev. Dr. H. M. Dexter, Argument in the Andover Case, December 31, 1886, pp. 117, 118.*)

The doctrine of probation after death has been expressly repudiated by the American Congregational Churches after desperate efforts to gain a footing for it. — (*The British Weekly, London, 1888.*)

APPENDIX.

I.

THE COMMISSION CREED OF 1883.

The national council of the Congregational Churches at St. Louis, in 1880, took measures which resulted in the election of a commission of five-and-twenty men to confer together and propose, in the form of a creed, a "simple, clear, and comprehensive exposition of the truths of the glorious gospel of the blessed God, for the instruction and edification of the churches."

After several protracted sessions, a result was reached in December, 1883, which received the signatures of all the members of the commission except three. This declaration—as the council had directed—was reported "through the public press, to carry such weight of authority as the character of the commission and the intrinsic merit of their exposition of truth may command." The document was as follows, namely:—

I. We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible;

And in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord, who is of one substance with the Father; by whom all things were made;

And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of life, who is sent from the Father and Son, and who together with the Father and Son is worshiped and glorified.

II. We believe that the providence of God, by which he executes his eternal purposes in the government of the world, is in and over all events; yet so that the freedom and responsibility of man are not impaired, and sin is the act of the creature alone.

III. We believe that man was made in the image of God, that he might know, love, and obey God, and enjoy him forever; that our first parents by disobedience fell under the righteous condemnation of God; and that all men are so alienated from God that there is no salvation from the guilt and power of sin except through God's redeeming grace.

IV. We believe that God would have all men return to him; that to this end he has made himself known, not only through the works of nature, the course of his providence, and the consciences of men, but also through supernatural revelations made especially to a chosen people, and above all, when the fullness of time was come, through Jesus Christ his Son.

V. We believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the record of God's revelation of himself in the work of redemption; that they were written by men under the special guidance of the Holy Spirit; that they are able to make wise unto salvation; and that they constitute the authoritative standard by which religious teaching and human conduct are to be regulated and judged.

VI. We believe that the love of God to sinful men has found its highest expression in the redemptive work of his Son; who became man, uniting his divine nature with our human nature in one person; who was tempted like other men, yet without sin; who, by his humiliation, his holy obedience, his sufferings, his death on the cross, and his resurrection, became a perfect Redeemer; whose sacrifice of himself for the sins of the world declares the righteousness of God, and is the sole and sufficient ground of forgiveness and of reconciliation with him.

VII. We believe that Jesus Christ, after He had risen from the dead, ascended into heaven, where, as the one Mediator between God and man, He carries forward his work of saving men; that He sends the Holy Spirit to convict them of sin, and to lead them to repentance and faith; and that those who through renewing grace turn to righteousness, and trust in Jesus Christ as their Redeemer, receive for his sake the forgiveness of their sins, and are made the children of God.

VIII. We believe that those who are thus regenerated and justified grow in sanctified character through fellowship with Christ, the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, and obedience to the truth; that a holy life is the fruit and evidence of saving faith; and that the believer's hope of continuance in such a life is in the preserving grace of God.

IX. We believe that Jesus Christ came to establish among men the kingdom of God, the reign of truth and love, righteousness and peace; that to Jesus Christ, the Head of this kingdom, Christians are directly responsible in faith and conduct; and that to him all have immediate access without mediatorial or priestly intervention.

X. We believe that the Church of Christ, invisible and spiritual, comprises all true believers, whose duty it is to associate themselves in churches, for the maintenance of worship, for the promotion of spiritual growth and fellowship, and for the conversion of men; that these churches, under the guidance of the Holy Scriptures and in fellowship with one another, may determine — each for itself — their organization, statements of belief, and forms of worship; may appoint and set apart their own ministers, and should coöperate in the work which Christ has committed to them for the furtherance of the gospel throughout the world.

XI. We believe in the observance of the Lord's Day as a day of holy rest and worship; in the ministry of the Word; and in the two Sacraments which Christ has appointed for his Church: Baptism, to be administered to believers and their children, as the sign of cleansing from sin, of union to Christ, and of the impartation of the Holy Spirit; and the Lord's Supper as a symbol of his atoning death, a seal of its efficacy, and a means whereby he confirms and strengthens the spiritual union and communion of believers with himself.

XII. We believe in the ultimate prevalence of the kingdom of Christ over all the earth; in the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus

Christ; in the resurrection of the dead; and in a final judgment, the issues of which are everlasting punishment and everlasting life.

II.

A REVISED FORM OF THE FOREGOING CREED,

As suggested by a minority of the Creed Commission of 1883, and from various other sources.

A DECLARATION OF FAITH.

I. We believe in one God, *infinite in all perfections, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit*;

In the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible;

In the *Only-Begotten* Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord, who is of one substance with the Father; by whom all things were made, and continue to exist;

In the Holy Spirit, the Giver of life, who is sent from the Father and the Son, and who, together with the Father and the Son, is to be worshiped and glorified.

II. We believe that the providence of God, by which He executes his eternal purposes in the government of the world, extends to *all persons* and all events; yet so that the freedom and responsibility of man are not impaired, and sin is the act of the creature alone.

III. We believe that man was made in the image of God, that he might know, love, obey, and enjoy Him forever; that our first parents, by disobedience, fell under the righteous divine condemnation; and that, *as a consequence of this apostasy*, all their descendants are so alienated from God that there is no salvation from the guilt and power of sin except through God's redeeming, *regenerating, and sanctifying* grace.

IV. We believe that God, *who is Love*, would have all men return to Him; that to this end He has made himself known, not only through the works of Nature, the course of his providence, and the consciences of men, but also through supernatural revelations made especially to a chosen people, and above all, when the fullness of time was come, through Jesus Christ his Son.

V. We believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the *infallible* record of God's revelation of himself in the work of redemption, being written by men under the special *inspiration* of the Holy Spirit; that they are able to make wise unto salvation, and that they constitute the *only* authoritative standard by which religious teaching and human conduct are to be regulated and judged.

VI. We believe that the love of God to sinful men has found its highest expression in the redemptive work of his Son; who became man, uniting his divine nature with our human nature in one person; who was tempted like other men, yet without sin; who by his humiliation, his holy obedience, his sufferings, his *vicarious* death on the cross, and his resurrection, became a perfect Redeemer; and

whose *expiatory* sacrifice of himself for the sins of the world declares the righteousness and compassion of God, and is the sole and sufficient ground of forgiveness and of reconciliation with Him.

VII. We believe that Jesus Christ, after he had risen from the dead, ascended into heaven, where, as the one Mediator between God and man, He carries forward his work of saving men; that the Holy Spirit is sent to convict of sin, and to lead to repentance and faith; and that those who through renewing grace turn to righteousness, and trust in Jesus Christ as their Redeemer, *were chosen in him before the foundation of the world*, receive for his sake the forgiveness of their sins, and are made the children of God.

VIII. We believe that those who are thus justified and regenerated grow in grace through fellowship with Christ, the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, and obedience to the truth; that a holy life is the certain fruit and indispensable evidence of saving faith; and that the believer's continuance in a holy life *is assured* by the preserving grace of God.

IX. We believe that Jesus Christ came to establish among men the kingdom of love, righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit; that to Jesus Christ, who is the sole Head of this kingdom, Christians are directly responsible in faith and conduct; and that to him all have immediate access without mediatorial or priestly intervention.

X. We believe that the spiritual Church of Christ comprises all true believers; that it is the duty of believers to associate themselves in *local and visible* churches for the confession of Christ before men, for the maintenance of worship, for the observance of the Sacraments, for the promotion of spiritual growth and fellowship, and for the conversion of men; that these churches, under the guidance of the Holy Scriptures, and in *conference* with one another, may severally determine their organization, statements of belief, and forms of worship, may appoint and set apart their own ministers, and should coöperate in the work which Christ has committed to them for the furtherance of the Gospel throughout the world.

XI. We believe that Christ has appointed but two Sacraments: Baptism, to be administered to believers and their children, *as a seal of the new covenant*, and a sign of cleansing from sin, of union to Christ, and of the promised gift of the Holy Spirit; and the Lord's Supper, to be administered to visible believers, *as a memorial* of his atoning death, and a means whereby He affirms and strengthens the spiritual union and communion of believers with himself.

XII. We believe that the Lord's Day, *the Christian Sabbath*, should be observed as a day of holy rest and worship.

XIII. We believe that the kingdom of Christ will prevail over all the earth; and we look for the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ, the resurrection of the dead, *both of the just and the unjust, the end of the world, and the final judgment, the issues of which will be determined by the deeds done in the body*; so that the wicked shall go away into everlasting punishment, and the righteous into everlasting life.

III.

THE WORCESTER CREED,

Adopted by the Plymouth Congregational Church of Worcester, Mass., 1884.

[This Creed is designed to be read at the organization of a new church, at the reception of new members into a church, and on any special occasions when it is desirable to repeat the Confession. Some pastors may deem it meet to read articles V., VI., VII., VIII., immediately before the administration of the Lord's Supper. Of course, every church will decide for itself how far it will allow individual members of it to make exceptions to any article in its Creed.]

I. We believe in one living and true God, who is the Creator of the heavens and the earth, and of all things therein, and is infinite, unchangeable, eternal, in power and knowledge, in holiness, justice, loving-kindness, wisdom, and grace.

II. We believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments were given by the infallible inspiration of God, so that they present the true views, and sanction no false views, of religious and moral doctrine and duty, and are our ultimate and only perfect rule of faith and practice.

III. We believe that the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit are each infinite in every divine perfection, are each to be supremely loved and worshiped; that they exist in an entire, a mysterious, an adorable union; are one, and only one, being; are one, and the only one, God.

IV. We believe that God is love; that He is the Lawgiver who desires that all men should obey his commandments, all of which are holy, just, and good; that He is the Sovereign by whom all the saints were chosen in Christ before the foundation of the world that they should be holy and without blemish before Him in love; that while He worketh all things after the counsel of his own will, He sacredly guards the freedom of men, so that all transgressors of his law are without excuse.

V. We believe that unless regenerated by the special power of God, all men are entirely destitute of holiness, and give their supreme love to the creature rather than to the Creator; that the very man through whom sin entered into the world was a figure of Him who came to break the dominion of sin; and that as death reigned over men through the one disobedience of Adam, so and much more will they who receive abundance of grace reign in life through the one obedience of Jesus Christ.

VI. We glorify the wisdom of the Father, who so loved the world that He gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have eternal life.

VII. We glorify the Redeemer, who united his divine nature with our human nature, and is both God and man in one person. We believe that He became our great High Priest and offered himself as the vicarious sacrifice for the sins of the whole world. We rest our faith and hope on his propitiatory sufferings and death, which maintain inviolate the honor of the law, so that the Lawgiver may be just and yet the Justifier of all men who truly repent of their transgressions. We rejoice

that, as the Son of God became incarnate in order that his blood may cleanse us from the guilt and power of sin, so after He rose from the grave and ascended into heaven He was crowned with glory and honor because He wrought out our redemption by his obedience unto death.

Our affections are gathered around Him as the central object of our faith because in Him are blended the brightest manifestations of the divine justice, the divine wisdom, and the divine grace ; because, through the ages before He came into the world, He was prefigured by impressive sacrifices, and because through the ages since He left the world, He has been exalted to sit at the right hand of the Majesty on high, where He reigns as Head of the church, and as the one Mediator between God and men, and where He ever liveth to make intercession for his people.

VIII. In like manner, we glorify the Holy Spirit, who comes to convince the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment, who applies the words and the work of Christ to the conscience and heart of men, and guides the humble into all the truth which they need for their salvation. We believe that all who love God supremely have been regenerated by the Holy Spirit ; that all who are regenerated will be so preserved by Him that they will persevere in the divine life unto the end ; that, as their Comforter, He will dwell in their hearts, and move them to make progress in the way of his commandments.

IX. We believe that the doctrines of grace are the root out of which grow the duties of the Christian life ; that the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, temperance ; that all who hope to be saved by faith should be ready unto every good work in the family and in the neighborhood — should be honest patriots, devout philanthropists, and should labor and pray for the conversion of the world to Christ.

X. We believe that all those whose outward life gives evidence of faith in the Redeemer should make confession of Him in the visible church instituted by Him ; that the ministers of the church are appointed by Him to preach the Word and to watch for the souls committed to their care ; that the Sacrament of baptism is a Seal of the new covenant, and should be administered to believers and their children ; that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is a memorial of his atoning death, and should be administered to those who publicly profess their trust in the body broken and the blood shed on the cross.

XI. We believe that the Christian Sabbath is divinely appointed and should be reverently observed as a day of holy rest and of social and public worship. We hallow it as the Lord's Day, commemorative of his resurrection from the grave, and as a day, therefore, of hope and gladness. We prize it as a day which is essential to the highest welfare of the civil community as well as to the permanent unity, growth, and strength of the Christian church, and as an emblem of our eternal rest in God.

XII. We believe that, in his adorable wisdom, our moral Ruler has attached an inestimable importance to our life on earth ; that all men who in this life repent of sin will, at their death, enter on a course of perfect and unending holiness ; that all who throughout the present life remain impenitent sinners will remain so forever ; that both the just and the unjust will be raised from death at the last day, will stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, and will receive from him their

awards according to the deeds done in the body ; so that the wicked will go away into endless punishment, but the righteous into endless life.

"Now unto him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us, unto Him be glory in the Church by Christ Jesus throughout all ages, world without end. Amen."

IV.

ADDRESS ON THE COMMISSION CREED OF 1883.

The Prelude of Mr. Cook's 169th Boston Monday Lecture, delivered in Tremont Temple, March 17, 1884.

An immense audience, the largest of the season, was present at Tremont Temple, Monday noon, March 17. The subject of the prelude, "The New Congregational Creed," perhaps helped to explain the attendance. People were standing at more than twenty of the doors of the balconies. The criticisms of the New Creed were received by the audience with frequent applause. The Rev. Dr. Plumb led the devotional exercises.

When roof joins roof and your neighbor's house is on fire, your own is in danger. The watchword of religious denominations ought to be : All the allies of each. I make, therefore, no apology for discussing the New Congregational Creed before an audience containing representatives of all the evangelical denominations ; for a fire anywhere in the city of evangelical faith is a general peril.

The Congregational quarter in the city of God in New England has had one fire in it already — the Unitarian defection. Only half of the original ward was left standing after the conflagration. The other half of it, after coruscating brilliantly for little more than a quarter of a century, has slowly become a mass of charred timbers. It is true that in the secret places of the unevangelical structure, some wood remains sound ; but the most of it, as judged by Christendom at large, is really a ghastly, blackened ruin. The lawns, the parks, the solemn groves which the Puritans had set in order in this portion of the city, have now the aspect and odor of spiritual desolation. God knows when these fields shall again become green ! While the ashes of this first conflagration yet float in the winds, we are threatened with another fire in the New England Congregational quarter, and originating on the same side as the first, or, perhaps, from embers underneath the foundation, not yet extinguished. It is a most serious and critical hour. To watch for lawless flames that threaten to fasten on the carved work of the sanctuary and extinguish them, is a business which it is vain for a foppish liberalism to stigmatize as heresy-hunting. It is the holy duty of a religious fire patrol in a sleeping city.

One of the felicities of our time is the swiftness of international communication. This is, also, a great infelicity ; for, as poison spreads rapidly from nation to nation, we suffer from importations of foreign heresies. But the reaction against foreign heresies ought to reach us as quickly as the heresies themselves. It is a very significant sign of the times that, in Great Britain, there seems to have commenced a reaction against the tendencies of certain eccentrics in the church to teach the doctrine or hypothesis of probation after death. Every one knows that Scotland means Presbyterianism ; and in the Presbyterian world there has been no alarming tendency to accept this heresy. In the world of the English Establishment several brilliant men came very near adopting it. Canon Farrar did not do so, however. He was educated a very rigid, strict Calvinist, and, in his reaction from his early training, uttered himself somewhat too emphatically against doctrines, perhaps held in a popular way in many orthodox circles, but not really taught by the scholars who lead orthodox thought. He has never gone so far as to assert that there is probation after death. I hold in my hands the latest published series of the celebrated Bampton Lectures, delivered before the University of Oxford. You remember how distinguished the names of the Bampton lecturers have been, and how well they have represented the highest scholarship and the soundest piety of the English church. Having been published so very lately, it is significant that this book takes the most vigorous ground against the hypothesis of probation after death. I venture to hope that it is an indication of the ultimate attitude of the Establishment in England.

There is, indeed, after the term of this earthly life is reached, no further probation ; no opportunity of repentance in the proper sense of the word ; that is, of inner change of mind from the love of evil and the life of sin to the love of good and of God, and the life of earnest endeavor after holiness. The whole tenor of Holy Scripture is against so unfounded and dangerous a supposition, and implies that, however it may be only as yet in germ, and that undiscernible by any but the All-Searching Eye, the final direction and determination of the moral choice is really taken, for good and evil, within the allotted limits of the present life. Natural moral science, based on observation and experience, apart from revelation, points unhesitatingly to a like conclusion : and even heathen philosophy recognizes the solemn significance of life in its opportunity for the exercises of moral choice and for the growth of habitual moral attitude and tendency into finally settled determination of character. ("The One Mediator," "The Bampton Lectures for 1882," by Canon Medd, pp. 314-318.)

Here is precisely the doctrine of final permanence, ultimate steadfastness, or unchanging bent of moral character, good or bad, that it has been my solemn duty to emphasize so often on this platform.

Luthardt teaches this doctrine at Leipsic, the foremost university of all Europe.

We may deceive men, we may delude ourselves; but in God's presence every deception vanishes, and all self-delusion ceases. . . . Who will be able to bear the presence of God, the presence of inflexible truth? Only they who have here become the friends of God. For the great distinction will be between those who have been his friends and those who have lived without Him. But this is decided in this life. "It is appointed unto all men once to die, but after this the judgment." (Heb. ix. 27.) That is to say, the decision takes place in this life. We are not to comfort ourselves with the hope of being able to retrieve there what we have neglected here. The very purpose for which this life in the flesh is bestowed upon us is, that our lot may be therein decided. The design of the manifold trials and duties of this life is, that through them and in them we may seek and find God. Though the moral consciousness of a man may seem to have been ever so slightly developed, though the life of an individual may have been passed in ever so dream-like a manner,—there is still that in the depths of every man's heart which is decisive. It is the fact, whether God has or has not been the portion of his soul, which will determine his eternal lot; for he who has not found communion with God here, will not attain it there. (Luthardt, Professor of Theology. Leipsic University, Apologetic Lectures on the Saving Truths of Christianity, Edinburgh edition, p. 300.)

This is truth which has not been of late sufficiently taught, even from evangelical pulpits on this side of the Atlantic. Let those who hold this Biblical conviction utter it boldly; for many who should teach it are recreant to their duty. This I hold to be the sound position to which evangelical thought is gradually drifting after the disturbance of an unexpected attack of heresy in this quarter. Probation after death is, to our times, a new theme comparatively; but the oscillation of the pendulum of faith brings it back to the Biblical center.

In 1880 there was appointed by the national council of Congregational Churches, a committee of most reputable gentlemen to choose a committee of twenty-five to draw up a creed or catechism, or both, embracing the current belief of Congregationalists. After many months of consultation, a report has been made, and the Creed has been published to the four winds. The report was not to be made to the national council; it is not to be adopted by that body. The Congregational usage is to give the local church autonomy in the choice of its creed. The Congregationalists are exceedingly shy of being held together by hoops; each portion of the edge of the cask takes care of itself. Even when the Congregational cask happens to be not water-tight, and is yet expected to hold water, it resists coöperation. A very useful characteristic in certain directions; a very dangerous one in others!

I. *What are the important omissions in the new Congregational Creed?*

I recognize the merit of the Creed in a large number of particulars. It pronounces vigorously against Universalism in its ordinary form, but not against semi-Universalism in the form of the hypothesis of probation after

death. It pronounces vigorously against Unitarianism, but not against semi-Unitarianism in the form of a failure to assert the deity of the Holy Spirit. It pronounces vigorously for the doctrine of inspiration, stated in liberalistic phrases. It pronounces vigorously for the doctrine of the atonement, under the same condition.

In a matter so important and critical I shall not satisfy you unless I enter into something like detail; and, therefore, I beg permission to point out concisely not all, but the more important omissions in the New Creed.

1. The majority of the committee affirm that the issues of the final judgment are everlasting punishment and everlasting life.

They do not affirm, and of course do not intend to affirm, that the issues of the final judgment are determined by the deeds done in the body.

It must be remembered that this committee was made up of conservative and of latitudinarian men. You may be sure that the conservative members suggested that the Creed should utter itself on this point. But I do not depend, and do not ask you to depend on mere inference, however obvious and necessary. I have seen in print a proposal to the committee to introduce this phraseology: "That the issues of the final judgment will be determined by the deeds done in the body." I do *not* speak on the authority of rumor when I state that the words were voted down. One of the most honored members of the commission writes to me that the addition of these words — "determined by the things done in the body" — was proposed, candidly considered, and, as was the case with all the other suggestions which were not accepted, was, for reasons satisfactory to a majority of the commission, respectfully declined. That is what I mean when I say that they were voted down. The fact that these words were voted down is one which the churches should not forget in a day and an hour.

2. The majority of the committee affirm that they believe in the resurrection of the dead. They do not affirm, and, of course, do not intend to affirm, that they believe in the resurrection of the dead, "both of the just and the unjust." These additional words, as I am informed by the authority just cited, were suggested and deliberately omitted.

3. They affirm that the Scriptures constitute the authoritative standard by which religious teaching and human conduct are to be regulated and judged.

They do not affirm or imply that the Scriptures constitute the "only" such standard. They do not use the word "inspired" in describing the Scriptures. They refuse to declare the Scriptures "infallible" as a guide in religious faith and practice.

As I have been informed on the authority already mentioned, all these words were suggested and declined. That part of the Scriptures which is declared to be able to make wise unto salvation is the record of God's work of redemption; and only this portion is described as authoritative.

4. The committee affirm that Christ made a sacrifice of himself for the sins of the world. They refuse to affirm that this was an "expiatory" sacrifice.

On the same authority I have mentioned already, I have been assured that this word was suggested and voted down.

5. They affirm that those who, through renewing grace, turn to righteousness are made the children of God. They decline to affirm that those who are thus regenerated were "chosen in Christ before the foundation of the world."

6. They affirm that the Holy Spirit, together with the Father and Son, is worshiped and glorified. They do not affirm that the Holy Spirit is of one substance and equal in power and glory with the Father and the Son.

The forms of the Nicene Creed are so mangled in the opening passages of the New Creed that they are strangely inadequate to their high purposes.

7. They speak of the One God as if that term were appropriate to the Father only.

They do not affirm that they believe in one God, infinite in all perfections, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

8. They assert that all men are so alienated from God that they can be saved only by redeeming grace.

They do not affirm that there must be not merely redeeming but regenerating and sanctifying grace. They minimize the divine justice and the fact of man's sinfulness. They really teach only that man is so imperfect that he cannot be saved except by redeeming grace. Perhaps under the word "redeeming" the idea of regeneration is to be included; but the authoritative statement which has come to me is that the word "regenerating" was voted down.

II. *What are the objections to the Creed, with these omissions?*

1. There is nothing in the Creed to counteract the force of its omissions. It contains no reaffirmations of previous historic creeds. It stands alone, and thus it implies that the doctrines it does not mention are unimportant. It lifts only the doctrines it mentions to the rank of essentials. The omitted points it represents as unessentials.

2. It is no excuse for the omissions in this Creed to say that many of them are parallel to omissions in the Congregational Declarations of Faith of 1871 and 1865. The Oberlin Declaration of the former year explicitly reaffirms the "belief that the Holy Scriptures are the sufficient and only infallible rule of religious faith and practice," and that the Congregationalist interpretation thereof is "in substantial accordance with the great doctrines of the Christian faith commonly called evangelical, held in our churches from the early times, and sufficiently set forth by former general councils." (Schaff's "Creeds of Christendom," Vol. III. p. 737.)

The celebrated Burial Hill Declaration of Faith, adopted by the national

council of Congregationalists in 1865, explicitly reaffirms belief in the faith and order of the apostolic and primitive churches, "and substantially as embodied in the confessions and platforms which our synods of 1648 and 1680 set forth or reaffirmed." (*Ibid.* p. 734.)

It has been very disingenuously or very carelessly said ("Christian Union," March 31, 1884) that the article in the New Creed respecting the judgment and future punishment "is copied almost word for word from that adopted by the Congregationalists of Plymouth Rock in 1865." It is true that the Burial Hill Declaration affirms belief in "the final judgment, the issues of which are eternal life and everlasting punishment." It does not affirm that the issues of the final judgment are determined by the deeds done in the body. *But it reaffirms great historic documents which do affirm this.* It reaffirms the famous Savoy Declaration of Faith; and this, on the subject of probation after death, was identical with the Westminster Confession. That Confession teaches that there is no probation after death. (See "Westminster Confession," chapter xxxii.)

John Milton called the Westminster Assembly a select, learned, and memorable synod, in which piety and prudence were housed. It had been the hope of many that this Creed would do as much honor to the present age as the Westminster Confession did to the age in which it was drawn up. The New Creed looks like a shriveled piece of fruit under a large helmet, a very small head, quite incapable of filling the covering intended for it. The Westminster Confession of Faith is not according to my views in all particulars; but it is a sublime document. In order to show you that it does not teach probation after death I read these words: "The bodies of men, after death, return to dust and see corruption; but their souls, which neither die nor sleep, having an immortal subsistence, immediately return to God, who gave them. The souls of the righteous, being then made perfect in holiness, are received in the highest heaven, where they behold the face of God in light and glory, waiting for the full redemption of their bodies; and the souls of the wicked are cast into hell, where they remain in torment and outer darkness, reserved for the judgment of the great day. Besides these two places for souls separated from their bodies the Scripture acknowledgeth none." The Solemn League and Covenant published in this volume, which I happened to buy in Edinburgh, I read not far from John Knox's grave, at the midnight service in St. Giles' Cathedral, on the last day of the year 1880. The very touch of that book is electric. That scene, when three kingdoms adopted the League and Covenant for the guidance of their affairs; when Cromwell and Milton and the great Presbyters of Scotland locked hands in the reformation of the foremost country of the present time, then just rising to its greatness, appears to me to be altogether too dignified and glorious a historic picture to be sneered at by any shriveled successors of the Puritans and the Pilgrims. [Applause.]

The Burial Hill Declaration of Faith teaches also that the death of Christ was expiatory.

The conservative members of the committee consented to the omission in the New Creed of the statement that the issues of the final judgment are determined by the deeds done in the body. They signed a creed which allows belief in probation after death. It is understood that they did so to secure harmony with those who represented in the committee the new latitudinarianism. The conservative members are supposed to have justified this singular lack of caution by pointing to the fact that there is a similar omission in the Burial Hill Declaration of Faith. The omission in that document was an omission with re-affirmations which explained it and made it consistent with evangelical doctrine. The omission in the New Creed is without reaffirmations. It is consistent with the great evangelical doctrines which the Oberlin Declaration so lately as 1871 re-affirms. Any one who believes in probation after death can sign the New Creed. No one holding that dangerous error can sign the Burial Hill Declaration of Faith or the Oberlin Statement. The excuse offered by the conservative members of the committee is, therefore, painfully insufficient.

When the Burial Hill Declaration was adopted, the heresy of the hypothesis of probation after death was not afflicting the churches. It is now under discussion and has been advocated in prominent quarters. A manly creed speaks out as to the evils of the time in which it is drawn up. The New Creed evades issues of the highest practical moment in the life and faith of the churches.

3. The New Creed is in direct conflict with both the later and the earlier historic declarations of the Congregational Churches.

It conflicts hopelessly with the Oberlin Declaration of 1871.

It is in antagonism to the Burial Hill Declaration of 1865.

It violates the principles expressed or implied in most of the local creeds of Congregational Churches in England and the United States.

The Declaration of Faith of the Congregational Churches of England and Wales, as published annually in the official Year Book of the denomination, affirms "that at death," the souls of believers, "perfectly freed from all remains of evil, are immediately received into the presence of Christ." (Schaff, "Creeds of Christendom," Vol. III., p. 732.) I know that this creed is not technically binding on the English Independents. I am quite aware that many prominent men among them repudiate the doctrine here taught. As several of these men are in positions that give them audiences, and have the habit of the pen, they have caused many careless observers to think that the English body of Congregationalists is entirely unsound on this subject. But if you will look into a note which Professor Schaff publishes from Dr. Stoughton (Vol. I., pp. 834, 835), you will find due notice taken of all these facts, but, at the same time, the assertion made

that "in most cases" the Congregational Churches in England have trust-deeds which do include the substance of these articles, and that most of the Congregational ministers are "moderately" Calvinistic in conviction. It is not long since I was in England a second time, and I often had conversation on this topic, and received information in entire accordance with this statement of Dr. Stoughton. It may be you could not get this set of articles adopted by the Union to-day; but the chief reason would be, as Dr. Stoughton says in the note to which I have referred, that the English Independents do not regard it as good policy to have a general creed, binding, even in an informal way, the separate churches.

It is wholly impossible for a believer in second probation to sign the most honored of the current or of the historic declarations of faith by Congregational bodies in Europe and America.

The New Creed is not only in conflict with the accepted and standard creeds of Congregationalists, but it is by no means explicit enough to exclude what those creeds have uniformly, either explicitly or implicitly, pronounced dangerous errors.

4. The New Creed is out of harmony with the hymns, the prayers, and the most earnest preaching, not only of the Congregational, but of all evangelical churches.

One of the supreme proofs that a theology is sound is that it is preachable, and when preached, makes regenerated men. No theology is adequately approved until it is absorbed into the hymns and prayers and the most incisive preaching of all the earnest evangelical churches. As every one knows, evangelical prayers and hymns and preaching do not use the hypothesis of probation after death, except to deny it.

5. The New Creed is a fast and loose compromise. It is a tissue of latitudinarian loop-holes. [Laughter.] What would be the result of adopting it? A millennium of milk and water. [Laughter.] The New Creed represents rather what a few holders of eccentric doctrines could be brought to sign than what the denomination, as represented in its councils or the working faith of its active churches, really holds. As, in a spring, the water sinks to the lowest level of the banks around it, so, in the New Creed, the doctrine sinks to the lowest level represented by the various conflicting views of the committee which drew it up.

A committee of twenty-five would be represented by a quorum of thirteen. A majority of such a quorum would be seven. In some meeting in New York or Boston, seven out of the thirteen, let us suppose, agree to a certain proposition. They send it out to the other members of the committee; some of them are at great distances and never met with the majority; one was on the Pacific Slope. With the proposition may be sent by mail the statement that a majority are expected to sign it. "Will you sign it?" is the question. A man of sensitive nature, and given to peace, is exposed to

a great temptation under such circumstances. As a result of courtesy rather than of conviction, it is not surprising that twenty-two out of twenty-five signed this Creed for the sake of peace. The Creed, as it stands, represents rather the courtesies than the convictions of the denomination. As individuals, most of the majority are as evangelical as any of us.

6. The New Creed represents only a majority of the committee which issues it, and is opposed by a minority of weight and dignity. One of them is a well-known and revered member of the American Board (Dr. Alden) ; another, a professor of theology at the Hartford Seminary, the editor of Prof. H. B. Smith's theological works (Dr. Karr) ; the third is the greatly honored and influential pastor of the First Congregational Church of Chicago (Dr. Goodwin); and they will undoubtedly be heard from yet as to their reasons for refusing to sign the Creed. These reasons are well understood to be founded chiefly on its omissions, — especially on the topics of Eschatology, Inspiration, and the Atonement.

7. The interpretation of the New Creed, put upon it by the leading admirers of its deficiencies, shows that it is regarded as a victory for the new latitudinarians. (See the "Christian Union" for March, 1884.)

8. As such, it has no claim whatever to be regarded as a satisfactory representation of the standard views of the great mass of the denomination.

I have no ecclesiastical motives. I have no ecclesiastical standing, and want none. Wendell Phillips used to say — God bless his memory! — that if one undertakes to discuss reform he should have no party to support, no candidate to defend, no bread to earn. I am discussing religious reform without the slightest glance toward selfish considerations. I am likely to be very severely attacked for what I am saying this morning, and perhaps may lose much by my temerity. But I am attached to sound views. I am profoundly in love with evangelical truth, and do not like to see the veins of America filled with milk and water. [Loud applause.]

9. The Creed threatens division in churches in which the present articles of faith contain the expressions excluded by the new articles.

10. Wherever it is received, and its omissions made use of by latitudinarian church-members, preachers, and theological teachers, it must inevitably destroy the biblical tone of preaching and cut the nerve of evangelistic labor, both at home and in missions.

11. It is marked by a strange disproportionateness in its emphasis of doctrine. It omits the attributes of God, and exalts infant baptism. Without speaking with disrespect of average Congregational views on this latter topic, it may be asked, if anything was to be omitted for the sake of peace, why not something often considered a non-essential? I am not now attacking those who defend infant baptism, nor objecting to the public consecration of offspring to God. I wish to speak reverently on that whole theme.

But it is a little annoying to one who is attached to all the denominations to find that, under this New Creed, a man whom Unitarians or Universalists would claim, could be received and ordained, and the chairman of this lectureship, whom President M'Cosh has just invited to Princeton College to lead evangelistic services, would be shut out. Dr. Gordon could not come into the Congregational Church under this New Creed; the author of "My country, 'tis of thee," could not come in because of what is said on the subject of infant baptism, although on the other points they may be in entire agreement with us. A Professor Hackett or a President Wayland would be shut out, as not believing in infant baptism; but men who are almost the broadest of latitudinarians could be admitted, provided they held on that subject what this Creed thinks it important to emphasize.

12. The supreme objection to the New Creed is that it is not biblical.

By admitting to the pews, the pulpit, the Sabbath-school, and the theological chair false views in Eschatology and weak ones on the Atonement and Inspiration, it destroys the biblical tone of the inculcation of the churches. It permits an alteration in the answer to the question, What must I do to be saved? Whatever does this, touches fundamentals in both faith and practice.

The New Creed allows the belief and teaching, in the pews, the pulpit, the Sunday-school, and the theological chair, that for some men it is not unsafe to die impenitent. It allows the full belief in continued probation, and the teaching of it, as well as in the mere hypothesis of probation after death.

It nowhere points out the folly of depending on another life for the opportunity of repentance. It nowhere insists on the duty of immediate repentance.

It does not require a belief in the resurrection of the wicked. It might be signed by an annihilationist. It allows churches to have good and regular standing, and yet be made up of annihilationists, or second probationists, who would, of course, secure the teaching of their own views in their pulpits, Sunday-schools, and theological chairs.

It allows the belief and the teaching, in the pews, the pulpit, the Sunday-school, and the theological chair, that the righteous are not safe when they die, and that they may fall away, for their probation lasts until the day of general judgment. It has been the devout faith of the Church for ages that the souls of believers are at death made perfect in holiness, and do immediately pass into glory. It has been the belief of evangelical churches that to die is gain, and that to be absent from the body is to be present with the Lord. But the New Creed allows the denial of this biblical faith.

It is entirely consistent with prayers for both the righteous and for the impenitent dead. I affirm that the Catholic doctrine of prayer for the dead is a sound one if the doctrine of a second probation be a correct belief. If the hypothesis of probation after death be accepted, by as much

as I am earnest in affirming it to be true, by so much I ought to be earnest in praying for the dead.

The New Creed slurs the holy of holies of Christian doctrine and life, — the Atonement.

It minimizes the doctrine of the inspiration, authority, and sufficiency of the Scriptures in religious things.

I beg that it may be noticed that I have no thought of accusing the Commission of using unworthy methods of securing a majority vote, although I must express regret that much of the discussion on the Creed was conducted by mere correspondence, and that a considerable temptation existed in some cases to strain courtesy for the sake of peace. The plain fact is, that the majority of the Commission, whose motives I do not question, recommend, "for the use of the churches," a creed which, besides lax views on the Atonement and Inspiration, allows the teaching of future probation. All this appears on the slightest inspection of the document. To do this is a singular act for conservative and scholarly men. It gives wild joy to latitudinarians. Already it divides the denomination. I have heard one of the Commission, who signed the New Creed, say, since he signed it, that future probation is a deadly heresy. In one who takes this attitude a signature to this Creed is inexplicable. The public will lose confidence in the judgment, if it does not in the integrity, of men who thus contradict themselves. The New Creed is a land-mark, chiefly because it is a land-slide.

III. *What are some of the possible remedies for the mischiefs which the New Creed with its omissions may originate?*

1. A full and authoritative presentation to the public of the reasons which induced the minority of the committee to refuse to sign the Creed. There has been a majority report. There ought to be something like a minority report. The churches have a right to hear both sides in full. The intrinsic merits of the majority report cannot be determined without a minority report.

2. A wide and impartial canvass of the opinions of the leading minds and most active Christians of the denomination. Associations, theological professors, preachers, laymen, should be asked to speak out. Their verdict should be ascertained, not in a partisan way, but by methods insuring fairness to all views.

3. If it seems necessary after such canvass, a new committee, of larger numbers, should draw up an improved creed; that creed should be submitted to a majority of those who signed this Creed, and I have no doubt it would be signed by them. Many of the conservative men who signed the New Creed for the sake of peace, I am sure, would be glad to sign an improved creed, and thus improve their own position in our Christian esteem.

4. It is highly advisable that the churches should not rush hastily into the adoption of the New Creed before they have heard it discussed. It

will take months to bring out both sides. The National Council of the Congregational Churches may, perhaps, be expected to reaffirm its historic standards of 1871 and 1865.

5. Examinations of candidates for the ministry should be made thorough on the points of error and weakness allowed by the New Creed, and such as hold views not in accord with the biblical, evangelical, and historic standards of the Congregational churches should be refused ordination.

The New Creed is intended for preachers as well as laymen. Wherever it is adopted it will be held to be ungracious, if not unlawful, to examine candidates on the topics it does not mention.

6. Only a general and profound revival of religious life can effectually counteract the present perils of the Congregational churches.

7. In parishes where new Congregational churches are founded teaching probation after death, it is to be doubted whether Presbyterians can be expected to refrain, as they now do, from founding Presbyterian churches, supporting the historic faith common to the Congregational and the Presbyterian bodies of believers.

Lord Chatham said he was glad Americans had rebelled. I venture to affirm, for one, that in communities where the errors which this New Creed allows are taught by Congregational churches, denominational courtesy ought not to go to the extreme in refusing to found other churches.

Every denomination, except the Congregationalists and Baptists, has some provision for keeping the churches in orthodoxy. An Episcopalian preacher may adopt lax views; but two or three times each week he reads the liturgy, and this keeps sound views before the people. Congregationalists have no liturgy, no bishops, no presbyteries. The men who come into Congregational churches on weak statements of faith may rule the churches. It is necessary for Congregationalists to have a clear and sound creed; for, under their polity, the body of church-members has control.

Therefore, whatever may be the consequences to myself for this utterance, I stand in life where I expect to repose in thought and faith in death, on Plymouth Rock. John Hancock lies buried across the street, in yonder sacred enclosure, and I humbly commend to the Congregational body, and to all Evangelical churches, his motto: *Obsta principis*,—"resist the beginnings of evil." [Applause.]

V.

CRITICISMS ON THE COMMISSION CREED.

In Letters from Prof. Park, Prof. Phelps, Dr. Alden, Prof. Karr, Dr. Thompson, Dr. Webb, Dr. Plumb, and Dr. Goodwin, 1884.

1.

ANDOVER, March 24, 1884.

My dear Mr. Cook,—It appears to me that the objections advanced against the new Congregational Creed are insuperable. When interpreted according to the laws of the English language it is indefinite, and fails to include certain views of truth which ought to be made prominent, and fails to exclude certain errors which ought to be positively condemned. It will be regarded as favoring, rather than opposing that latitudinarian theology which threatens to impair the unity and the usefulness of the Congregational churches. It is decisive enough with regard to distinctive Congregationalism in its *less* important features, but is altogether too indecisive with regard to those great truths which the historic creeds of the Congregationalists have been designed to maintain. I cannot regard the *spirit* of the New Creed as adapted to meet the needs of the present age. It seems to portend a decline in doctrinal preaching and in missionary zeal. In my opinion the general acceptance of the Creed as a denominational standard would be a calamity.

EDWARDS A. PARK.

2.

ANDOVER, March 22, 1884.

My dear Mr. Cook,—The following expresses, as briefly as I can put it, my view of the New Creed. It is with great reluctance that I differ from the eminent fathers and brethren who have framed it.

A creed, designed as a *testimony* of a large body of believers, and as a *test* of the orthodoxy of its clergy, ought, in my judgment, to be framed on several principles, of which *two* are indispensable, viz. :—

First. It should conserve with extreme care all those *essential* doctrines which the faith of the church, as expressed in preceding historic creeds, has held for ages as the truth of God. No surrender should be made of any such doctrine. No backward step should be taken for the sake of making room for novelties, or harmonizing varieties of opinion.

Secondly. The creed should be eminently a creed of the time, and for its time, in the courage with which it opposes those errors which threaten the faith of the Church at the period at which the creed is framed. It should resist these errors by the definiteness with which it emphasizes the opposing truths. An *irenic* creed which dispenses with this *polemic* outlook can never be *timely*. There is never a time when truth is not threatened by errors peculiar to the age. A creed which ignores them invites them.

Tested by these principles, the Creed now offered for our adoption seems to me

defective. I do not find in it, in sufficient force, either the conservative element, as related to the past, or the aggressive element, as related to the present. The Church has held, for ages, certain beliefs respecting the Word of God, the Atonement, and eternal retribution, which appear to me *essential* beliefs. The great confessions of the past have so regarded them. They have been gained at great cost. Yet some of these beliefs this Creed ignores. Its deliverance on those three doctrines, therefore, is weak. So far, we suffer a positive and lamentable loss. The opponents of our faith reasonably welcome it as their gain.

Further, on those three doctrines errors are afloat at present which are disastrous in their tendency, yet fascinating to the natural heart. If generally accepted they must enervate the Gospel as a working force in our pulpits. Those errors this confession by its reticence tolerates, and so far encourages. In this respect it fails to defend the faith of the time against the errors of the time. As a whole, it seems to me to express an amiable desire to harmonize numbers, and to make room for varieties, rather than a stout purpose to vindicate truth and to resist falsehood.

The times appear to me to call for a creed made of more positive material, and welded with a more aggressive aim. Never, in the years that have passed under my observation, has there been a time when a really powerful confession of our faith could have done so much good, or a weak one so much evil as now.

Yours truly,

AUSTIN PHELPS.

3.

BOSTON, *March 21, 1884.*

REV. JOSEPH COOK.

Dear Sir, — In response to your request that I will give to the public my reasons, as one of the Creed Commission, for not authorizing my name to be appended to the Declaration of Faith recently recommended to the Congregational churches, I enclose a copy of the letter which I sent to the secretary of the Commission. It is as follows: —

My dear Brother, — The statement of doctrine, a copy of which has been forwarded to me for signature, seems to me seriously defective in the following particulars: —

1. In omitting in article 1, after the words "one God," a definite recognition of his attributes and tri-unity, in some such phrase as the following: "infinite in all perfections, the Father, the Son, and Holy Spirit."

2. In omitting in article 6 the important word "expiatory" before the word "sacrifice." This, as an omission, is particularly significant, inasmuch as "expiatory" is used in the Declaration of Faith of 1865.

3. In omitting in article 11, in relation to baptism of "believers and their children," after the word "children," the words "as a seal of the new covenant," some recognition of "the covenant" being regarded by many of our ministers and churches as essential to their acceptance of infant baptism.

4. In omitting in article 12 some phrase which will declare our belief that the issues of the final judgment are decided during the present life on earth, perhaps the following, after "the issues of which," viz., "being determined by the deeds done in the body."

5. I am obliged to add that the "confession of faith," suggested for recommendation to churches as a form of admission, is also seriously deficient, as it appears to me, in what has been regarded as very important by our churches, — a concise statement of the essential doctrines of our faith, including the tri-unity of God, the expiatory Atonement, and the decisive issues of the final judgment, emphasizing "everlasting death," as well as "everlasting life." These are all omitted from the confession suggested. It is also a matter worthy of consideration whether "resurrection of the *body*" should be retained in the creed which is required for admission to a church, when it is carefully changed to "resurrection of the *dead*" in the larger creed.

I understood at the meeting of the Commission at Syracuse it was voted that whatever confession should be proposed for a brief statement for a church, would be sent to every member of the Commission for suggestions and criticisms before it was adopted. It is now sent out simply to be signed or declined, with no opportunity for suggestions. It seems to me that the ordinary confessions of faith usually adopted by our churches are far superior to the one here recommended, and, if the latter should be adopted in their place, our churches have made a decided lapse backward. This is the more important to consider, as the Commission *volunteer* this recommendation as a confession of faith for local churches, and were not requested by the council to do it. To warrant this additional recommendation, therefore, the paper should be one of superior excellence, which it can hardly claim to be.

I am sorry that I am obliged to write this letter, and decline to authorize my signature to the proposed "Statement"; but the reasons given seem to me to compel it. I am very much mistaken, also, if in these strictures I do not represent a large number both of ministers and members of our churches.

I will only add that in prosecuting the inquiries which led to the decision given above, I consulted a considerable number of representative brethren in the ministry in relation to what ought properly to be included in an historic statement of the doctrinal faith of our Congregational churches; and as the result of their excellent suggestions I have prepared a revised edition of the Declaration of Faith, a copy of which I enclose.

It is possible that some of the suggestions included in this revised Declaration of Faith may commend themselves to those who, for various reasons, will desire to amend the statement of doctrine already given to the public. It will certainly be in accordance with the spirit of our Congregational churches, should some of them prefer a more full utterance than others, in giving our public testimony to what we regard the great scriptural and historic doctrines of our faith. Let us see to it that we none of us surrender this freedom of utterance which our fathers obtained for us at a costly price; let us be sure, also, that we accord the same freedom to all our brethren; and if we must differ, as honest Christian men, decided in their own convictions, sometimes in this imperfect world must differ, let us by all means differ genially.

I remain, yours respectfully,

E. K. ALDEN.

4.

HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,

March 21, 1884.

MR. JOSEPH COOK.

My dear Sir, — I have yours of yesterday, asking if I am at liberty to state the reasons why I did not sign the paper which has been recently presented by the Creed Commission. On inquiry I find that other members of the Commission agree with me in the impression that the transactions of the body are to be regarded as confidential. So that I cannot give any reasons which would involve a reference to the proceeding of the Commission in their sessions.

This much I can say, and perhaps ought to say. When the question of signing or not signing was to be met, I found myself differing from several members of the Commission on this question: How will this document be interpreted? I incline to think that a number of gentlemen supposed it would be regarded as a catholic and irenic statement, made in language free from theological technicalities, of what has been commonly held by our faithful ministers and believing people. My own opinion was that it would be understood as favoring the latitudinarianism which is seeking recognition among us, rather than as simply restating, in plainer terms, what has always been received and preached in our body. Having this anticipation of what the effect of the paper would be, I could not sign it. I am told that a circular sent to members of the Commission, by Dr. Alden, giving his objections to the Creed, has come into your hands. I am free to say that all the amendments which he urged, and more, were, first or last, asked for by me. But we all understood that the final result of our work could not conform to all the views of any one member of the Commission, and, at the last, I was willing to yield my own preferences in every point save one. You will notice that certain statements in the document can be understood as comprehending what is generally held among us, but that there is in one article an *omission* which no interpretation can supply. For example, Christ's sacrifice of himself can be understood as a comprehensive statement of his expiatory work. So the Scripture, having been written by men who "were under the special guidance of the Holy Spirit," can be understood to include the fact of the plenary inspiration of the Bible. But in the last article there is no assertion that the judgment will have respect to men according to the things which they have done in the body. In the present state of the public mind, I could not sign a creed which maintained silence on that point. I feel that the insertion of such a statement is required for two reasons: First, its intrinsic importance, inasmuch as a failure to assert this, *when men are denying it*, results in taking from the Bible all its strenuousness; and, secondly, its decisive influence on the interpretation of the rest of the paper, inasmuch as, with that clause included, it would be plain that the whole paper is to be understood as a catholic and irenic, but not at all as a latitudinarian, document.

But now permit me to say again that I have personal knowledge of the fact that some gentlemen who signed the paper, and who are as zealous for the truth of

the Gospel as any of us can be, accepted the whole as it stands, in the belief that it could not be misunderstood.

Faithfully yours,

W. S. KARR.

5.

NO. 1 LINWOOD ST., BOSTON,
March 21, 1884.

REV. JOSEPH COOK.

Dear Sir,—In reply to your favor just received, asking a brief opinion regarding the new Congregational Creed, I would say that, as concerns human depravity, the Divine purposes, the Trinity, and the Atonement, this document seems to me to be less in accord with the Word of God than the average existing creeds of our churches; while it leaves the door open for any one to hold and teach the unscriptural and dangerous dogma of probation after death. Hence, whatever its excellences in other respects, I should regret to hear of its being adopted by any church.

Very truly yours,

A. C. THOMPSON.

6.

BOSTON, March 21, 1884.

My dear Brother,—In answer to your note let me say, I have great respect for the ability and piety, for the intellectual grasp and spiritual discernment of the brethren who have issued this Creed. But they were set, as it seems to me, to do an impossible task. How can two walk together except they be agreed? How can opinions which differ fundamentally be brought into a living unity?

It cannot be offensive to these brethren if I say, what I believe, that this document does not express the real belief of any of them. It is not historic. It is not the expression of any one school or class. And I must add, it is not scriptural; that is, it is not a creed evolved from the inspired Word of God. A document may not be unscriptural, so far as it goes, but it may stop short of that which is essential. A few additional sentences, or words even, would change the whole aspect and spirit and tone of these twelve articles, and make them, as it seems to me, much more scriptural and vital. And I do not despair of seeing many of these brethren come out and sign a creed which will be much more full of inspired thought and sentiment, and much more closely connected with the past, and much more expressive of their own hearts.

The very fact that men holding such different published views, united in signing the New Creed, leads me to distrust it. Even if I could not detect the composition at the first glance, I should be sure that the iron and the clay are there.

That this document, as others have said, is up to the level of present thought and fairly represents the aggregate unsettled belief of to-day, I do not much doubt. But my understanding of revelation, from which the creed of the Christian should be made, is that it represents God's thought. And I want something that has less of compromise and more of the direct, incisive teaching

of Jesus and of Paul and of Moses in it. I want a chart for my guidance that is made from the undisturbed observation of the fixed and steady lights of heaven, and not from a compromise of opinions.

And then I object to such tremendous omissions; openings high and wide, through which a camel, laden with a good share of the imported and improved speculations of the day, can walk erect. The very first questions which an aroused and inquiring soul would ask are not answered. I can miss many things from a sermon and not complain. But in a *standard of belief* one has a right to know whether the Atonement is "expiatory" or *scenic*; whether "every high-priest taken from among men is *ordained for men in things pertaining to God*, that he may offer both gifts and sacrifices for sins," or to make a governmental display. One has a right to know whether the issues of the judgment are based on the deeds done in the body, or on the further trial of an after probation.

The effect of the document, as it seems to me, will be to lower our views of sin, to make those who reject Christ and continue unrepentant feel a little easier and safer, and to encourage indifference and procrastination. And these are things which no good man wishes to do. Water needs no help to run down hill; and human nature, enervated by sin, is sure to descend low enough, without the indorsement or assistance of an emasculated creed. I do hope that the churches will not hasten to adopt this document as their creed. Let us wait a little for the sober second thought.

Yours very truly,

E. B. WEBB.

7.

92 SEAVER ST., ROXBURY, BOSTON, MASS.,
March 24, 1884.

REV. JOSEPH COOK.

My dear Sir, — The New Creed is far more explicitly orthodox than some of the "New Departure" men would write. Leading journals can no longer say endless punishment is not now taught by the denomination.

The omissions and ambiguities of the statement, however, on depravity, inspiration, atonement, and second probation, yield too much to the demands of an inconsiderable faction.

The reasons why so many of our best men have signed it, or on the whole approved it, seem to me to be, —

1. Its ambiguities on Inspiration, Atonement, etc., they can interpret in a free orthodox sense.

2. Its omissions they consent to for the sake of peace, because, while they have no sympathy whatever with "New Departure" views, they are willing to be silent concerning them, thinking they will soon die out unaware apparently, of the vigor with which they are being pushed, or else strangely apathetic to the fact.

Doubtless many of them would prefer and would gladly sign a more explicit creed, especially if they should see that, under this one, men go on teaching *that* there may be a second probation from death to the judgment; that the Bible sanctions moral wrong; that the apostles sometimes taught error; that Christ

was, perhaps, mistaken in some of his statements, and that he did not know that the Old Testament, which he commended, was unworthy of trust.

The churches loathe such teaching.

We can have a better creed, and it would command a wider and more hearty assent.

Respectfully,

A. H. PLUMB.

8.

To the Editor of the Advance: You ask me to give through the "Advance" my reasons for not signing the statement of the Creed Commission. I send you herewith, with a few verbal emendations, the substance of my letter to the chairman of the Commission:—

CHICAGO, February 28, 1884.

DEAR PRESIDENT SEELYE, — . . . If this were some transient deliverance, like the resolutions of an ordinary deliberative assembly, I would suppress my objections and stand with my brethren. But this is not the case. The Congregational denomination is in this matter making history. It is putting on record this statement as the result of years of careful and painstaking discussion of the meaning and teaching of the Word of God. It is, therefore, the matured testimony of those whose names are appended, respecting the matters set forth. It may be called, I suppose, the Congregational Symbol, and will take its place alongside of other historic symbols as a kind of watermark of doctrine, a consensus of faith for those to study who want to know what the *Congregational* understanding of the Scriptures is. For this reason I cannot get the consent of my conscience to waive my scruples. If I am to help make a symbol of faith, that symbol must represent my convictions of what the Word of God is, and what it teaches, in language which cannot be misapprehended, on all fundamental points.

I can accept all the Commission say, and, with *my interpretation* put upon their language, I should be content. But I cannot take the statement as it reads, and after the known refusal of the Commission to make their utterance unequivocal by the use of certain words, send it out as my definitive utterance of what the Scriptures teach.

Two things, as I supposed, were to be attempted by the Commission. One, a statement in the way of testimony as to the doctrinal beliefs of our churches; the other, a statement to be used as a confession in the reception of members into church connection. This latter, I supposed, was desired to be as free as might be from dogmatic expressions, broad and catholic, and such as all could heartily unite in. The other, a statement taking the very highest ground held by the bulk of our churches, and meant to be our witness, in these times of looseness and unfaith, to our allegiance to the great cardinal doctrines of God's Word, and put in such clear and sharp utterances that no one could read them and fail to know exactly where we stand as a body of Christ's disciples. I can see no possible use of the appointment of such a Commission, if the subject was to find out how many doctrines some objected to, and then recast our former utterances until a minimum of belief was reached, or such a compromise effected as should carry unanimity

of sentiment. That would seem to me like chipping away our corner-stones and calling that progress, and then publishing the record to the world as our great advance in theology.

The Commission have had what seemed to them good and sufficient reasons for deciding as they have. I can only say, that by no possibility could I see my way to go upon record for anything less than the *infallible authority* of the Word of God, and the *expiatory character* of the atonement of Jesus Christ. If anything is called for in this day, my profound feeling is, that it is a deliverance on these points that can be construed in but one way. True enough, the Commission could not be unanimously carried for any such statement. But it seems to me that a ringing, unmistakable testimony for the truth here, would be worth far more to the churches and to the cause of Christ in the world, than a unanimity secured by an apparently evasive and uncertain deliverance upon what are the most vital points in all theology.

If our body is to have a glory in the future not eclipsed by the glory of the past, it will come, in my judgment, by our standing fast, no matter what the ridicule of our Puritanism and our narrowness, where the fathers stood, as the unflinching witnesses to the faith once for all delivered to the saints.

I will only add that had I been aware of the different constructions put upon the Twelfth Article by members of the Commission, I should most certainly have urged, and upon the same grounds taken as to Inspiration and Atonement, such a phrasing of the article as would have made it impossible to read into it the doctrine of probation after death.

E. P. GOODWIN.

VI.

ADDRESS ON THE WORCESTER CREED OF 1885.

The Prelude of Mr. Cook's 178th Boston Monday Lecture, delivered in Tremont Temple, March 23, 1885.

There has lately been adopted, by a company of Christian believers, at Worcester, as a basis for the organization of a new Congregational Church, a Declaration of Faith that has such remarkable merit of both matter and form that there can be little doubt of its wide adoption, or of its ultimately becoming a standard and a classic in the history of creeds. It has already received the approval of several of the very highest theological authorities, and of many learned and devout preachers as well as of enlightened and progressive men of affairs. Its comprehensive merit is that it reads as if written by some great theologian while on his knees. It is a creed that might be sung by martyrs at the stake, or chanted as an anthem in churches and cathedrals, or placed as a pillow under the heads of the dying.

A reading of this document, which may perhaps be called the Worcester Creed, will show that among its excellencies are :—

1. Its doctrinal soundness, especially on topics of the most vital import in evangelical creeds, such as the Divine Unity and Tri-unity, the necessity of the New Birth, the vicariousness of the Atonement, the religious infallibility of the Scriptures, the resurrection of both the just and the unjust, immortality, and the limitation of probation to the present life.

2. Its devotional tone. No creed known to the history of symbols has so much the mood of a psalm or a prayer. Its liturgical forms of expression are of extraordinary merit, and cannot fail to endear themselves to the mind and heart, once accustomed to their use in the holy of holies of the religious life.

3. Its faithfulness to the historic forms of Congregationalism.

4. Its preservation of evangelical unity in essentials.

5. Its adaptation to promote revivals.

6. Its adaptation to inspire missions.

7. Its avoidance of technical and merely scholastic phraseology, and its employment of clear and vivid modern or biblical language.

8. Its progressive and scientific spirit.

9. Its intensely practical, religious, conservative, and biblical spirit.

10. Its fitness to counteract current religious mischiefs and errors.

11. Its reconciliation of orthodoxy with progressive thought, by its combination of the best elements of all that is old and of all that is new in creeds.

12. Its thoroughly Christocentric structure and tone.

This creed is *not* a fast and loose compromise between sound and unsound opinions. It is *not* a tissue of loopholes. It will *not* be said of it by those engaged in practical religious labor that it will not work well when preached to average men. It is a creed of the New Continuation and not of the New Departure. For combination of doctrinal soundness with devotional fervor, and spiritual, scientific, and practical insight, this Creed has never been surpassed in the whole history of symbols. It will *not* be said of it that a man could believe and practice all it requires him to hold, and yet die unsaved.

It is the joy of my life to emphasize the hidden half of Christian unity, or the truths in the assertion of which all evangelical believers agree. I am, I hope, more than a Congregationalist and more than a Pan-Presbyterian or a Pan-Anglican. I am a friend of all the evangelical denominations, and hope that I do not underrate the glories of any one of them, although I now make myself a fool in glorying in the achievements of Congregationalists. I have been forced once to criticise unsound Congregationalism, both as a doctrine and as a polity; and you will bear with me, therefore, if I now eulogize sound Congregationalism.

A good creed is a gate to a city that hath foundations. A misleading creed may be a road to destruction; or, if both misleading and alluring, it

may become what Shakespeare calls a primrose path to the eternal bonfire. A sound creed has in it health, peace, perfection for society, the churches, and the individual ; an unsound creed breathes spiritual pestilence.

What are the achievements of Congregationalism in its sound form, of which the creed I am about to read is an embodiment?

1. Under Oliver Cromwell and John Milton, Congregationalism ruled England. In the Commonwealth period of British history, Congregationalism had the chief religious power. It was the predominant political force. A majority of Cromwell's famous Committee of Triers were Congregationalists. Congregationalism and Independency brought Charles I. to the scaffold. Congregationalism smote the frowning rock of tyranny in church and state, and there gushed forth those springs of liberty which were the headwaters of the English revolution of 1688, and of American civilization.

The historian Froude says : " Whatever exists at this moment in England and Scotland of conscientious fear of doing evil is a remnant of the convictions which were branded by the Calvinists into the people's heart."

2. Congregationalism had an important share in forming the Westminster Catechism. Goodwin and Nye, members of the Westminster Assembly, are the patriarchs of English Congregationalism.

3. The Westminster Confession of Faith, except only the topic of Church Government, has always been, for substance of doctrine, the Congregational Creed. It was reaffirmed in the Savoy Confession in Great Britain; it was reaffirmed in the Saybrook Platform and the Cambridge Platform in New England. It was reaffirmed as lately as 1865, in general but most significant terms, by the National Congregational Council assembled on Burial Hill at Plymouth.

4. Congregationalism came to America in the " Mayflower." It landed on Plymouth Rock. " Puritan Congregationalism," says Philip Schaff (" Creeds of Christendom," Vol. I. p. 825), " is the father of New England, and one of the grandfathers of the American Republic, and it need not be ashamed of its children."

5. Congregationalism planted the common-school system in the rocky soil of New England.

6. It has founded most of the New England colleges and many of the Western. Harvard, Yale, Dartmouth, Williams, Amherst, Oberlin, Olivet, Beloit, Tabor, Colorado Colleges, with others now rising on the Pacific Slope, are its sons. The sound of its college bells is heard from sea to sea. In proportion to its numbers as a denomination, it has done more than any other American body of Christians for collegiate education.

7. It established the oldest theological halls, and maintained in them lofty standards of freedom in investigation, of soundness in doctrine, of scholarship and of piety.

8. It has been among the foremost in the work for missions at home and abroad.

9. It has had a succession of great and sound theologians. As to all that is central in the Congregational faith, it may claim the loftiest Presbyterian and Baptist theologians as in some sense its own also. But in New England, Providence has raised up men of extraordinary native endowment and spiritual attainment to teach the Congregational faith.

10. Congregationalism has the peculiar glory of having been taught as a theology to be preached to the people, and by theologians who were themselves, many of them, great preachers, and not merely recluses. It has been practical and not scholastic in its origin. It came from the pulpit much more than from the cloister.

It has been marked by a series of great religious awakenings, which have, from time to time, renewed the health of the churches, and been among the foremost instruments used by Divine Providence in preparing the nation for its greatest tasks and triumphs.

11. In New England, and especially in Massachusetts, Congregationalism has been sharpened, balanced, and clarified in all its statements by a prolonged and successful conflict with the most acute forms of liberalism. New England theology, in its freshest and soundest form, is thus peculiarly adapted to the wants of an age which loves clear thought and free investigation. English Congregationalism has had no such conflict. Nowhere in the world has Congregationalism been more strengthened and ennobled by debate than in New England.

12. It is the glory of Congregationalism that it has emphasized the truths which experience shows to be effectual in producing regenerated religious life in the individual and in the community. It has not insisted only on the truths which it holds in common with liberalism. It has been forced by its history to defend with especial care those truths which are peculiar to the evangelical faith. Experience for centuries shows that it is on these that the practical power of Christianity depends. New England theology, in its best present shape, is one of the most perfectly equipped fortresses now in existence for the defense of the most distinctively evangelical truths.

Born in revivals, wrought out in the most practical forms of religious labor, sharpened by prolonged conflict with liberalism, New England theology may naturally be presumed to be better adapted to the wants of American life than any imported system of theological thought. This presumption is justified by the results of that theology in its application to life.

13. Congregationalism owes all its triumphs to its soundness. It was because of its thoroughly evangelical faith that it overthrew state churches, founded free commonwealths, established schools, and organized missions.

The soul of the Puritans was transfigured by the overwhelming convictions that God is ; that he so rules the universe that without holiness, there

can be no blessedness ; that deliverance from the love and guilt of sin are necessary to peace in his presence ; that the Scriptures are an infallible rule of religious faith and practice ; that they reveal God as Father, Son, and Holy Ghost and yet as one ; the Deity of Christ, the necessity of the New Birth, the necessity of the Atonement, the final judgment determined by deeds done in the body, the life everlasting.

14. In regard to all these essentials, Congregationalism is in thorough agreement with evangelical Christendom. Its glory and its fruitfulness are in harmony with the vital truths in which all scholarly and aggressive Christians agree.

All these truths are summarized with unsurpassed clearness and felicity of expression, and with unequalled nobleness of spiritual tone, in that form of sound words which I now read, and to which may Providence grant usefulness as abounding in the future as the best of similar words have had in the past.

The creed has the following prefatory sentences :—

This Creed is designed to be read at the organization of a new church, at the reception of new members into a church, and on any special occasions when it is desirable to repeat the Confession. Some pastors may deem it meet to read Articles V, VI, VII, VIII, immediately before the administration of the Lord's Supper. Of course, every church will decide for itself how far it will allow individual members of it to make exceptions to any article in its creed.

The twelfth article of this creed has been read at the close of sermons on the necessity of immediate repentance, the indispensableness of an atonement, and the urgency of missions. Five of the articles can be used separately. An eminent theologian has suggested that the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth articles be read at the communion table, or immediately before the administration of the Holy Eucharist. Is it not a significant proof that a creed has high qualities that it can be used, not only without any sense of dissonance, but with an inspiring effect in the loftiest moods of assembled or secluded worshippers? This creed will be found to match the holiest instants of both public and secret devotion. .

On an Easter morning, it is a custom in certain parts of Germany, near Magdeburg, for a procession of Christians to be conducted, before sunrise, to the sacred enclosures of the cemeteries, and there to chant an anthem and repeat a creed, made impressive by its own truths and by the most hallowed associations. " We now recite our faith," the procession says as with one voice, " and we do so in presence of the dead; and we are willing that the Princes of the Air and the Powers of Darkness should hear." Above the graves of our sainted dead, and in presence of Heaven and Earth and the Abyss, let us stand in the endless but vanishing procession of generations, and, by both speech and action, utter our holiest religious convictions as with one voice, from age to age. God be with us as he was with our fathers !

VII.

THE OUTLINE OF DOCTRINE,

Presented in the Approved Report of the Prudential Committee to the American Board at Springfield, Mass., 1887.

1. The existence of one God, infinite in all perfections, revealed as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.
2. The Divine authority and inspiration of the Holy Scriptures.
3. The Divine purposes and providence extending to all persons and all events, yet so that individual human freedom and responsibility abide unimpaired.
4. The universal sinfulness of man, by nature destitute of holiness and alienated from God, and so exposed to righteous Divine condemnation except through redeeming and regenerating grace.
5. The incarnation of the Son of God, and his propitiatory sacrifice upon the cross, the just for the unjust, as the only ground of forgiveness of sin.
6. The resurrection and mediatorial intercession and reign of the glorified Lord and Saviour.
7. Salvation provided for all men on condition of repentance toward God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ.
8. The work of the Holy Spirit in the regeneration and sanctification of men.
9. The institution of the visible Church, whose sealing ordinances are baptism and the Lord's Supper.
10. The observance of the Lord's day, the Christian Sabbath, as a day of holy rest and worship.
11. The immortality of the soul, the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, the resurrection of the dead, both of the just and the unjust, and *the final judgment, the issues of which will be determined by the deeds done in the body; so that the wicked will go into punishment, and the righteous into life, both of which states will be without end.*

THE DEATH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

The Prelude of Mr. Cook's 163d Boston Monday Lecture, delivered in Tremont Temple, February 4, 1884.

The New York "Independent" says:—

The great hall, it is unnecessary to say, was crowded. At half past eleven, when the doors were opened, the waiting crowd soon filled the galleries, and before twelve o'clock all the seats on the floor, including the reserved seats, were occupied, while considerable numbers, unable to obtain seats, were standing in the aisles and in the area near the entrance. The audience, both as regarded its size and its character, was a spontaneous tribute paid to the life and character of the great man who lies in the stillness of his last sleep, and whom not only Boston, but America, the world indeed, had learned to reverence. It is but once in a lifetime that an orator is given such a topic as Wendell Phillips.

I.

Whom God crowns, let no man try to discrown. There lies dead on his shield in yonder street an unsullied soldier of unpopular reform, a spotlessly disinterested champion of the oppressed, the foremost orator of the English-speaking world in recent years, the largest and latest, let us hope not the last, of the Puritans, a servant of the Most High God, a man on the altar of whose heart the coals of fire were kindled by a breath from the Divine justice and tenderness. Wendell Phillips has gone, doubtless, to an incalculably great reward. He is with Garrison, and Sumner, and Lincoln now. He is in the company of Wilberforce and Clarkson. He has met Phocion, and Aristides, and Demosthenes, and Scipio, and the Roman Gracchi, and Howard, and John Brown, and Toussaint L'Ouverture. He is with Milton, and Cromwell, and Hampden, and Vane, and the Covenanters and Pilgrim Fathers, and the host of martyrs who, in every century, have laid down their lives that the dolorous and accursed ages might a little change their course. With the approval of this company, what cares he for our praise or blame? He cared little for it in life. Fifty years hence, history will not ask what Boston thinks of Wendell Phillips, but rather what he thought of Boston. [Applause.] We cannot crown him; the memory of his career crowns our civilization. [Applause.]

There are three periods in Mr. Phillips's life—preparation, struggle, victory. His preparation extended from his birth—or rather from some generations before it, for he inherited ancestral merit of the highest type—to the Boston mob of 1835. This period included his boyhood in the historic streets of Boston; his education in a cultured home and Boston schools and Harvard University; his study of the law, and initial, reluctant practice of

it. His struggle lasted thirty years, from 1835 to 1865, — that is, from the time when he saw Mr. Garrison in danger of being murdered in your streets for anti-slavery opinions, to the day when it pleased Almighty Providence to eradicate slavery from our nation. His victory was in the last nineteen years of his life, in which he walked among us, not without occupation, indeed, but with his great purpose so thoroughly accomplished that he seemed lonely in his triumphant and peaceful days.

This orator had no official position. Not the legislator's chair, not the pulpit, not the professor's or editor's seat, — only the platform was open to him ; no adventitious aids account for his influence. Remember that Mr. Phillips was never in the employment of state, or church, or school. He never sought with any genuineness of zeal, I think never with full purpose, any place within the gift of the people. He was a candidate once for the governorship of Massachusetts ; but he said he did not wish to be in the governor's chair. He used his candidacy as a weapon of agitation. A simple citizen all his days, without more wealth than was necessary to secure his independence of position, and with no business relations worth mentioning, his character and eloquence alone explain his place in history.

II.

Is it not fair to assert that, without the forty years of this reformer's influence from the platform, our civilization might possibly have sunk so low as to make a compromise with slavery? You affirm that slavery was not abolished in his way, that he was a disunionist for years, and that, perhaps, the bitterness of his attack on human bondage precipitated the conflict between the North and the South. I maintain that slavery was abolished in Mr. Phillips's way; for after 1861 he was a defender of the Union and of all the great measures of the North in the period of the war and of reconstruction. But as to the preceding period, are you sure that, if the brilliancy of his oratory, the intensity of his moral convictions, the weight of his conscience, had not been thrown into the scale, we should have been ready when secession showed its head to crush it? Are you certain that the statesmen who were safe men would have brought us into that posture of soul in which such a degree of courage and insight became possible as to make the sacrifices of our war practicable by the will of the masses?

Mr. Phillips's ideal of his own life can be seen best in what he said of the platform. "We have four sources of education in this country," was one of his famous remarks: "talk, literature, government, religion. The lyceum makes one of the most important elements in each. It is a church without a creed and with a constant rotation of clergymen. It teaches closer ethics than the pulpit." ("Speeches and Lectures," p. 246.) Forty years, and nearly forty-five, this orator, unmatched on either side the sea, passed to and fro across the breadth of our continent, weaving together the

sentiments of our great commonwealths into opposition to human bondage. It is sometimes said that Wesley and Whitefield, moving up and down the Atlantic coast as shuttles, wove together the sentiments of the thirteen colonies, and made union possible by creating a national spirit. We have no national daily journals, but we have national orators, men whose words are heard from Plymouth Rock to the Golden Gate; and it is on a few men who reach the whole nation that we must depend for the unification of sentiment in great crises. It is true the press echoes itself, and so fills the land, and on the highest matters is substantially a unit; but sometimes the press is not as courageous as the platform. In most great crises of unpopular reform, the platform takes the initiative. Especially in the anti-slavery contest was it notoriously true that the abolitionist platform was vastly in advance of the press and of the pulpit. It was Mr. Phillips's oratory, as I think, which imparted, more than any other weapon in the hands of one man, anti-slavery zeal to the North, and gave to the commonwealths which resisted the rebellion such moral preparation as made their victory in the Civil War possible. [Applause.] With all their mistakes, I believe that without the radical abolitionists — nay, without this one leader of them — it is entirely possible that we might have lacked the courage necessary for the maintenance of the Union. [Applause.] Take away the career of the abolitionists, or even of this one man who led them, from American history, and it is quite possible that the union of the American republic might have been destroyed. It is not too much to assert that but for the career of this man, who was almost a martyr, our liberty and union might to-day be in the jaws of the monster of slavery. His darts were cast among the earliest at this dragon, and I believe that none pierced more nearly to the vital parts. Certainly no man was more hated in the Gulf States than he, not even Mr. Garrison. His brilliancy drew to him secret intellectual support from the educated classes. The young men in the colleges were dazzled by Mr. Phillips's eloquence, as they were not usually by Mr. Garrison's. It is true that Mr. Phillips always placed Mr. Garrison at the front; and it is not for us lightly to differ from his judgment, which undoubtedly was an honest one, and not the result of mere modesty. Mr. Phillips was but a young man when Mr. Garrison was mobbed in Boston; and it was the sight of the mischief about to be done to the older person that brought the younger to his side. Nevertheless, as an incitement to the nation at large, Mr. Phillips, according to my conviction, has been quite as effective a spark of divine fire as Mr. Garrison. It was Mr. Phillips, quite as much as Mr. Garrison, who, in the long course of the anti-slavery discussion, put a soul beneath the ribs of our death.

III.

Mr. Phillips was born in 1811. He joined the Anti-slavery Society in 1836 ; but his real membership in the anti-slavery ranks began from a time in which he saw Garrison mobbed in 1835. He became a supporter of the Union in his fiftieth year, 1861, and in that very year was himself mobbed in this city. He was twenty-six years old when he delivered his famous address at Faneuil Hall on the murder of Lovejoy. He was seventy-three years old at his death. It may be said that from 1837 to his last hour he was a pillar of fire, through which God looked in the morning watch of better ages to come, and troubled the host of his enemies, and took off their chariot wheels. [Applause.]

Is it thought that Mr. Phillips, after the victory of the great reform the support of which was the chief object of his life, lost his occupation? Is it feared that he did not understand the new and more complicated public issues to which he gave attention? Slavery was a simple question, it has been affirmed ; and labor reform, the topic of socialism, or of communism and of nihilism, are intricate matters. Did Mr. Phillips deserve this criticism? It is clear that he had many other objects than the promotion of the anti-slavery cause. Here are twelve topics of reform which he discussed nearly all his life : Anti-slavery, woman's rights, temperance legislation, total abstinence, municipal misgovernment, the care of the insane, the Indian question, the Chinese question, labor and capital, finance, oppressed foreign nationalities, corruptions of the political party in power. Who does not recollect his chief opinions on all these themes? Is that a correct perspective which makes a division between his life before the war and that after it, and affirms that his final years showed a decline in his power of grasping great themes effectively and in the intellectual worth of his advocacy? I hold that the temperance reform is a simple issue, and that Mr. Phillips had very nearly complete mastery of it. Who had a greater mastery? If Providence crowned his opinions on the topic of anti-slavery, are you sure that Providence may not at last crown his opinions on the topic of the temperance reform? You thought him a fanatic on slavery; but history justified him. Although myself unable to advocate as advanced views as he held concerning woman's rights, I am not here to cast reproach on his record. I do not care to obliterate anything he did on that theme. I believe the cause of woman's rights to be, on the whole, a simple issue, and I do not doubt that Mr. Phillips studied it as carefully as he did the anti-slavery agitation. Municipal misgovernment he discussed most acutely. Although, on that theme, we as yet are only at the commencement of a great contest that undoubtedly will occupy a large place in our political future, he has threaded a needle which reformers may well use to sew up the garments of our shame. [Laughter and applause.] I am willing to commit to the care of his great

memory the Indian question and the Chinese. In his advanced years, he could not, of course, on this latter topic go into prolonged agitation ; but he has put himself on record as unflinchingly opposed to the provincial and barbaric views of the Pacific Coast. Three million freedmen weep for him to-day. The oppressed peasants in Ireland and Russia know he was their friend. He deserves a monument at Dublin and St. Petersburg as well as at Charleston and New Orleans. His form should stand in bronze at the Golden Gate as well as at the side of Plymouth Rock.

IV.

Let those who say Mr. Phillips did not understand the topic of labor and capital wait fifty years until Macaulay's Huns and Vandals appear on our continent, and then ask whether this reformer understood the necessities of the case. He was too radical a friend of the workingman, you think? He was an American. He helped to establish the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics, which has been imitated in many a commonwealth. No man's advice was oftener sought than his by legislative committees, on topics of industrial reform. He was really one of the most cautious experimenters on the whole topic of labor and capital. He collected facts, he organized public effort in Massachusetts in such a way as to bring the real state of the case as to the workingmen before the people. Every factory child had in him a tender guardian. It is the most bitter calumny which calls him a friend of assassins, a supporter of regicides. He has uttered strong words on the duty of resisting tyrants, much stronger than many of us would justify. But you must remember his talent for invective. We must not think that, as a cool policy, he would justify the assassination of an emperor of Russia. He was only beginning the discussion of the vast topic of labor and capital. It is far too much to assert that he did not understand it, or that he misled public sentiment concerning it. It is true that on the topic of finance his opinions seemed to the vast majority of his friends to be erroneous. But he certainly had a right, in the name of his great career, to put forward a few singular opinions, and ask attention for them, and leave them to the verdict of time. We must not say that he was a tyro on this subject because his views did not coincide with ours. There was a day when we thought him a tyro on the topic of anti-slavery. As to the corruptions of the political party in power, do you say that he struck hands with demagogues? You said so on other topics earlier in his career, and yet you justify now many of the most extreme propositions he then defended. Let it not be forgotten that Mr. Phillips, in defending political movements which most of us do not indorse, said that they were also supported by many very bad elements. He did not overlook the fact that what he believed to be the cause of the workingman drew to its support evil forces. I admit that he kept queer company, but not that he was blind to the fact. He thought

the corruptions of political parties in power should be exposed and extirpated even at the expense of temporary, conditional alliance with unpleasant allies in political warfare.

It is palpable injustice to Mr. Phillips's memory to emphasize a few topics on which most of his friends disagreed with him, and forget the vast reforms on which his opinions, once scouted as utterly fanatical, have been justified by Almighty Providence itself. Here, at the edge of his open grave, let us look upon the crown which history has put on the head of this censor of his age, and remember that nearly every great reformer has made a few mistakes. Edmund Burke, in his last years, assailed the French Revolution in a style considered morbid, almost insane. People thought Edmund Burke had lost his balance of mind. A sensitive oratorical soul, it was said that he fell into the faults of the oratorical temperament. Do editors have no faults? Are there no mistakes natural to the journalistic temperament? If editors were obliged to stand out personally before their readers, and make themselves responsible for all their assertions, if the devious course of many a leading newspaper, without its mask of irresponsible anonymousness, could be watched from year to year, should we not find it as easy to rake up a record against a great journal as against a great orator?

No doubt this orator's marvelous power of invective often led him into a vigor of speech almost inconsistent with the patrician courtesy which was a part of his being. He was a reformer in the press of battle. He spoke as one who is obliged to command attention by the boldest exposure of the errors of his opponents. "Men blame us," he says, "for the bitterness of our language, the personality of our attacks. It results from our position. The great mass of the people will never be made to stay and argue a long question. They must be made to feel it through the hides of their idols. It is on this principle that every great reform must take for its text the mistakes of great men. God gives us great scoundrels for texts to anti-slavery sermons." ("Speeches and Lectures," p. 48.) Respectability said to Mr. Phillips: "You shall not have a hearing." Whereupon he let fly the silver arrows of criticism of a Webster and a Seward, and obtained a hearing by smiting the idols of respectability. His criticisms of public men contain no personal malice. Many of them history has justified.

My conviction is that most of the newspapers that have criticised Mr. Phillips have been at fault in matters of fact oftener than he was, in proportion to the number of times they have spoken. [Applause.] On the edges of his argument, speaking in the heat of debate, he might now and then let drop a statement that would not bear the microscope and scalpel. But in the central ground of his discussion, on points essential to his argument, he was not only accurate, but vitally sound. He knew how to choose facts that would cut and burn, and to make an impression that God could indorse. This is a kind of insight not too often exhibited on the platform; and when it is possessed, the courage to use it does not always go with it.

V.

Mr. Phillips's oratory, as a general verdict of the best judges seems to assert, was not surpassed by that of any one now living. John Bright is commonly spoken of in England as the foremost orator of the British Islands. His power of invective is not equal to that of Mr. Phillips. The idiomatic grace, clearness and beauty of his style may perhaps be as remarkable as the corresponding traits in the language of the Boston orator; but there is not as much incisiveness, not as much divine fire in the periods of John Bright as in those of Phillips. There are not as many epigrammatic passages, not as many historic allusions illuminating each theme in hand, not as much classical learning. John Bright, indeed, would not claim to be Mr. Phillips's equal in classical training, or in experience before popular audiences. Mr. Bright is a parliamentarian; he is a popular orator also; and in the combination of these two careers has excelled Mr. Phillips because his field has been broader. As a parliamentarian Mr. Bright is, of course, superior to Mr. Phillips, but perhaps not to what Mr. Phillips would have been with a parliamentary opportunity equal to Mr. Bright's. On the whole we may pronounce the book of "Speeches and Lectures," by Mr. Phillips, to be the most suggestive contribution that has been made to the records of American oratory since the death of Daniel Webster. It is a lofty estimate which places this contribution in the scale of value above Mr. Everett's or Mr. Sumner's. Let us mention all the great orators with due honor; but when we ask for the noblest thing in oratory we must speak of God in man; and what orator had in him more of God than this anti-slavery reformer? [Applause.]

Quintilian says that extemporaneous speech is the top and radiance of all eloquence. Mr. Phillips was an extemporaneous speaker of the most finished merit. There are four ways of speaking, — written, extemporaneous, *memoriter*, and mixed. You may write everything or write nothing. You may memorize matter or words, or both. You may combine these methods in such a manner as to secure the chief advantages of each. The mixed method was Mr. Phillips's mode when he could choose his own way of preparation, and this method is undoubtedly the best of the four for such effects as he wished to produce.

He was always a gentleman. He always spoke as at once a cultured person and a popular orator. There was nothing prim and stiff about him, and yet there was nothing careless. He was very far on the one hand from having a pomp or a stateliness which repelled people. He was very far, on the other, from talking down to the people. Some of the most subtly important of his oratorical maxims appear in these sentences of his in a letter of 1868 to a college student: "I think practice with all kinds of audiences the best teacher you can have in public speaking. Think out your subjects

carefully. Read all you can relative to them. Fill your mind, and then talk simply and naturally to an audience. Forget altogether that you are to make a speech, or that you are making one. Absorb yourself into the idea that you are to strike a blow, carry out a purpose, effect an object, recommend a plan; then, having forgotten yourself, you will be likelier to do your best for your purpose. Study the class of books your mind likes. When you go outside of this rule, study those which give you facts on your chosen subjects, and those which you find most suggestive. Remember to talk *up* to your audience, not *down* to it. The commonest audience can relish the best thing you can say, if you know how to say it properly. Be simple; be in earnest."

But you say that, after all, Mr. Phillips was not a logician. The seer is the logician who melts his logic in the fire of his emotion, and Mr. Phillips in oratory was a seer. His epigrams, his historical allusions, his anecdotes, his powerful passages of invective, are often arguments on fire. Whoever wishes to form himself on the best model of popular eloquence that America has yet given to the world — except only the best passages of Patrick Henry and the immortal address of Lincoln at Gettysburg — must spend days and nights on what poor remnants we have left of Mr. Phillips's anti-slavery orations and speeches. Here are coals of fire lit by the breath of God. Let young men come to this altar and light their torches and carry them out into the dark places of our civilization. [Applause.]

VI.

Boston mobbed Wendell Phillips. Let this city now reverently, proudly, and yet penitently build his monument. [Applause.] Æschines said that the character of a city is determined by the character of the men it crowns. This American reformer's hands were clean from any stain of gold. He did not love place or pelf. It was to plain living and high thinking that he consecrated his life. His gains were given away in silent philanthropy. It is certain that the last person whose interest he thought of was himself. That unspeakably sacred relation of his to an invalid wife, — how dare we name it in public over this open grave except as we look into the coffin through tears? More than once he said: "She was my inspiration." Was this the chief secret of his power? This man almost never unveiled to mortal gaze the holy of holies of his spirit, in which he dwelt alone with God. He said at Theodore Parker's funeral: "Mine is not Parker's faith. Mine is the old faith of New England." I heard the authoress of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" say last night to a hushed assembly, "Wendell Phillips was orthodox of the orthodox." He would not worship with the churches of Boston; but, in the darkest days of the struggle with slavery, he and some of those who were most nearly of his own heart were accustomed to meet on the Sabbath in private homes to observe the holy

service of the Lord's Supper. The faith of this servant of humanity was not a creed merely, but a life. "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord; for they rest from their labors and their works do follow them." In this career the faith explains the works. By birth an aristocrat, by conviction a democrat, by faith a theocrat, Wendell Phillips was by Christian necessity a reformer. Let us look into our own duties through the lenses of these tears. We all are passing to the majority of souls. Lincoln, Sumner, Garrison, Emerson, Phillips, have gone, — and we are going! God grant that each of us who are alive may sell his existence as dearly as this holy soul did his!

"Humanity sweeps onward. Where to-day the martyr stands,
On the morrow crouches Judas, with the silver in his hands;
Far in front the cross stands ready, and the crackling fagots burn,
While the hooting mob of yesterday in silent awe return
To gather up the scattered ashes into history's golden urn."

[Prolonged applause.]

JOHN B. GOUGH AS ORATOR AND REFORMER.

The Prelude of Mr. Cook's 182d Boston Monday Lecture, delivered in Tremont Temple, February 22, 1886.

The Boston Advertiser says :—

Mr. Cook spoke of John B. Gough with eloquence and admiring enthusiasm, and to an audience which showed, in every way in which an audience can show its sympathy with a speaker, that his enthusiasm and admiration were shared by the three thousand listeners. Prayer was offered by the veteran temperance worker of Maine, Rev. John Allen, who signed the pledge in 1824.

I.

Two nations, now the foremost on the earth, mourn a fiery man of Kent. Humanity mourns; for this man had fire in his emotions, in his imagination, in his intellect, in his will, and in his conscience; he was himself a pillar of fire, through which God looked in the morning watch of a great reform, and troubled the hosts of its enemies and took off their chariot wheels. He who has addressed more than eight million five hundred thousand hearers, he who has spoken to more than eight thousand five hundred audiences, and traveled more miles on his lecture tours than would reach twenty times around the globe, lies at rest in his own library yonder at Hillside.

“Dead he lies among his books;
The peace of God is in his looks.”

Face to face with the foe, faithful unto death, he fell in full armor. Before a great audience in Philadelphia, last Monday, he had spoken some twenty minutes with his usual animation and power. He had said: “I have seven years in the record of my life when I was held in the iron grasp of intemperance. I would give the world to blot it out; but, alas, I cannot.” Stepping forward with impressive gesture, he added: “Therefore, young men, make your record clean.” Here came to him the unexpected and imperative Divine summons. These were his last intelligible words. Borne to the house of a friend, he lingered, under the best medical care and with his wife in the last days at his side, until the sun was near its setting on Thursday afternoon, when he entered that world on which the sun never sets. Providence intends what it accomplishes. It meant that this descent of the chariots of fire upon a soldier in battle should crown his life and give extraordinary impressiveness to the memory men will have of his last public hour. It meant that the language of this final high appeal

should summarize his work, and become one of the vital watchwords of reform: "Young men, make your record clean."

John Gough, as the English love to call him, and as he often called himself — John Bartholomew Gough is the full historic name — came into this world in the seaside town of Sandgate, in the county of Kent, August 22, 1817. This was two years after the battle of Waterloo, and two before Queen Victoria was born. It was the year in which the Princess Charlotte died, and the year before the chief corner-stone of the capitol at Washington was laid. Dover Castle and Shakespeare's Cliff were only eight miles away; Canterbury, with its gorgeous cathedral, was only four hours' walk from the low-roofed cottage in which John Gough was born. He had a surly welcome to the shores of England. Poverty rocked his cradle, but genius also; for his mother was a woman of bright intellect and of most admirable balance of character. She had for twenty years been a school-teacher in the hamlet of Sandgate. His father was a stern, good man, who had brought six medals out of the Peninsular War.

The little boy and his sister, with the mother, were obliged to glean in the harvest fields, and were often glad to take home what few fallen heads of wheat they could find, and thresh them out on the floor of the schoolhouse. Certain exploits in needlework the mother performed; but she sometimes failed to find a market for her sewing; and once, coming back from a long walk to Dover, she took her son upon her knee and told him with tears that she could not buy bread, for she had failed to sell the work of her fingers. "To-day," said the boy, "a neighbor has given me five shillings for reading aloud in his library." He placed the coins in his mother's hand. To the end of his days this gift to his mother was one of the pleasantest recollections of a man whom, afterward, the two sides of the Atlantic were glad to honor. Often as the boy sat reading to his mother at their cottage door, which faced the sea, strangers would pause to listen, attracted by his proficiency in this art.

William Wilberforce one day put his hand on the poor boy's head, asked to hear him read, gave him a book and his blessing. The great philanthropist was spending a few weeks at the seaside for his health. Mr. Gough, the father, attending the prayer meetings that were held in Wilberforce's rooms, brought with him his son. This touch of the great abolitionist's hand on his head the boy never forgot.

At twelve years of age, in 1829, the lad was sent out from his mother's house in a most venturesome way. He was put into the hands of a family emigrating to America. His passage was paid for. His mother came out and stood behind a wall to catch, unobserved, a last glimpse of her boy.

Entering the New York harbor, fifty-four days from the time of sailing, the lonely boy was anxious to see the land in which he was to live, but was sent below to black boots. He went to a farm in Central New York. After

two years' experience, finding that he was not being sent to school, either on week-days or Sundays, he resolved to learn some other business than that of the farm. From his tenth year onward he was never in any school as a pupil. He sold his pocket-knife to pay postage on a letter to his father, and asked his permission to go to New York to learn a trade. The permission came, and the boy at last, when about fourteen years of age, obtained a position in New York as an assistant in a bookbindery, at \$2.25 a week. He was obliged to pay \$2 a week for his board. After a considerable period of suffering, he earned \$3 a week, and invited his mother and sister to come to him in this country. They hired two rooms, and were happy.

In a dull season in the winter the boy and his sister lost their positions. The familiar tale of the poor in periods of business depression has to be recited concerning these children and their mother. They went into a garret. They had no food or fuel on many days. The boy would go beyond the municipal boundaries, and beyond the suburbs, to pick up billets of wood at the side of the country roads, and would drag them back to his garret. His mother grew ill. One day, when there was absolutely nothing in the house that she could eat, he rushed out, pawned his coat, and bought a little meat and broth for his mother. When bread failed wholly, on another day, he went sobbing down the street, and a kind-hearted man asked him what the matter was. "I am hungry, and my mother is hungry," said the boy. "Very well," said the stranger, "I can't do much, but I will do something," and he gave the boy a threepenny loaf. He took it to his mother, and before it was eaten the family Bible was placed on the rickety pine table, and thanks were offered to God for this deliverance.

The boy and the girl lived through this winter. The mother hardly survived it. When the fierce suns of the next August beat on the low garret roof, the heat became intolerable. One day, preparing John's simple supper of rice and milk, she fell by an apoplectic or paralytic stroke, much like that which occurred in the career of the son last week in Philadelphia. John sat all night by the side of his mother, holding her hand after her death. The sister could not stay in the garret. For three days after the death the boy and the girl did not taste food. The body was put into a simple pine coffin, without shroud, and carried on a cart to the Potter's Field. The two children walked behind, hand in hand.

Later, evil companionship caused Mr. Gough, when about twenty years of age, to fall into habits of intemperance. He sank, with remarkable swiftness, to delirium tremens. His temperament was intense, and he ran through the terrible gamut of nervous exhaustion with extreme rapidity. Lying on his couch, faces of demons appeared to glare at him out of the air. Great wheels of many-colored lights rolled before his eyes. He felt himself falling swiftly through infinite space. Standing at his table in the

bindery, the little iron rod that he used in his trade seemed to be turning into a coiling, slimy serpent, writhing in his hand, and rustling after he threw it down among the shavings.

After these horrors, what happened? You all know the story of Joel Stratton, who, in Worcester yonder, touched the despairing mechanic on his shoulder, told him he was a man, could yet reform if he would practice total abstinence, and so brought to bear upon him personal solicitation and sympathy that he induced him to attend a temperance meeting, and to sign the pledge. He broke it twice, once voluntarily, and once under influence of drugs administered by an enemy, but after 1845 he kept it. [Applause.]

Mary Whitcomb married John Gough before he had taken the pledge for the last and successful time, and when he owned only one suit of clothes and ten silver dollars. She knew there was genius in him and conscience, and her faith in her husband is a supreme proof that she herself possessed elevation of character and moral genius. How far they have walked together! And how long will they walk together yet, before the great White Throne!

I have placed this dark picture of John Gough's earlier career before you in order that we might thank God for overruling all this evil so as to educe from it abundant good. Without this baptism in the fires of poverty and of delirium tremens, we never should have had the full force of his intense sympathy applied to the work of rescuing the drunkard from ruin. We never should have had in its full power his supreme and most contagious confidence that the most degraded man may be lifted out of the slums. We never should have had in him, even with all his genius as an orator, the inspired earnestness which is the key to all hearts.

II.

As an orator, Mr. Gough can be compared to no one else. He was of his own kind, and of a most extraordinary kind. He was orator and actor combined, and was born both. Among his earliest playthings were a pulpit and a Punch and Judy box. They were among his latest. [Laughter and applause.] This combination of earnestness and humor; this intensity of feeling and vividness of imagination that might easily have led him into extravagances of opinion and action, had they not existed in combination with remarkable balance of judgment and character; this fire of emotion, will, conscience, epithet, metaphor, and gesture in both comedy and pathos, anecdote and argument, made him in his best hours on the platform a disciplined thunderbolt.

You say he digressed in his lines of argument; that he was full of anecdote and not so full of linked logic. Mr. Gough, when on the platform attacking intemperance and the liquor traffic, always seemed to me like the matadore in a Spanish bull-fight. His anecdotes were the flag held out

before the beast; his tremendous facts, his definite propositions, were like the sword thrust into the side of the infuriated animal after it had been brought within reach by the flag. And there was a spear at the end of the flagstaff; for his stories, like those of Lincoln, always meant something; and again and again the anecdotes of John Gough pierced the heart of the beast. The spear at the end of the flagstaff was quite as effective as the sword-thrust that followed it. [Applause.] Does not the matadore digress, according to the exigencies of his conflict? Who cared for temperance when John Gough began to preach total abstinence? Who among the lofty was friendly to such positions as he took in the day of the Washingtonian movement? He was from the people. He was a reformed inebriate. The cause of total abstinence was not popular even with the middle class in England at John Gough's first visit to his native islands in 1853. It was necessary for him to tell anecdotes; it was necessary for him to secure attention in any way and every way; and if, when the matadore, holding out his flag, is attacked by his infuriated opponent, he changes his position by a sudden movement to the right or to the left, and so digresses, all that is a part of skill in fencing.

Mr. Gough was an actor. Within an hour on the platform he was accustomed to take twenty parts, and perform them all with nearly absolute perfection. In the years immediately preceding his rescue from intemperance he had some slight connection with theatres as a player. It was born in him, this histrionic capacity. Undoubtedly he was the greatest histrionic orator of his age, and had more of the mimetic genius, which brings vividly before an audience whatever the orator feels, than any one else who has spoken in the English tongue in our day. I recollect one or two famous histrionic orators who have spoken the Italian language; but I think it may be said that no one has ever spoken the English tongue who had more histrionic genius in his oratory than Mr. Gough. And how admirably he modulated it! How he held himself in check! How, after all, he produced the impression, especially in his later years, of chasteness in rhetoric and of self-control! It was impossible to report him in type. It would take not only a stenographer, but one of the instruments that record tones, and a mirror that should record gestures, to represent Mr. Gough on the platform. He said once that he thought he could not make a speech if his hands were tied, and yet he knew nothing of his gestures. Some of the things which I have heard Mr. Gough describe remain in my memory more vividly as pictures than many things of equal interest which I myself have seen.

Finally he conquered all criticism, and in the last two of his visits to England received wholly unstinted honors from the most cultured classes. When he landed in Liverpool in 1878, there was sent down to him a roll of one hundred thousand names of total abstainers in the British Islands. He was invited to the Westminster Abbey Gardens. Dean Stanley gave him a most

distinguished reception. Fourteen thousand of the clergy of the Establishment are now enrolled in the cause of temperance. The bishops of Durham and Dover, and of Gloucester, and of Exeter, are on the side which was once so unpopular when Mr. Gough first championed it in his native land. He has had abundant opportunity in England to be spoiled by the adulation of his friends. But what balance he maintained to the last ! How, to the very end of his career, did he remember the opening of it ! What breadth of sympathy he had, reaching from the poorest of the poor, and the most degraded of the degraded, up to the loftiest of his friends ! He knew very well the temptations of the higher portion of society ; he knew the temptations of the lowest ; and the breadth of this man's heart, the height of it, the depth of it, are things not easily paralleled, if you look abroad into the list of those who have discussed truth before great assemblies in our time.

Mr. Gough was known to the public very well for five or six years before Mr. Spurgeon began his career. There is no one on the platform in this country who has anything like his dignity of character as a veteran. Orators are of all kinds, like the flowers of the field, among which many lofty types differ vastly from each other. Mr. Gough's fashion in oratory wore as well as any other has done in our time. He held his audiences on both sides of the sea through very nearly half a century. For more than forty years he was before great assemblies, American and English ; and his earnestness, his honesty, his balance of mind, his Christian character, sustained him to the last in a hold not merely on the heart of the unlearned, but on that of the cultured classes.

Three vigorous and eloquent books, wholly from Mr. Gough's own hand, dimly exhibit his oratorical and literary power as a speaker, and are of great and permanent interest as biographical records and as historic illustrations of the progress of the temperance reform. They are his "Autobiography," published in 1869 ; "Sunlight and Shadow," 1881 ; "Platform Echoes," 1885 ; the latter with admirable illustrations by F. O. C. Darley and other artists. Mr. Gough's library at Hillside was crowded with choice selections of standard authors, and was especially rich in essays, history, and art. Himself the Cruikshank of the platform, he made a collection of his friend Cruikshank's pictures, which was the largest and most valuable outside of the British Museum.

III.

As a reformer, Mr. Gough has been the victorious champion of total abstinence, and the leader of moral and educational agitation against the liquor traffic. It ought never to be forgotten that in both America and England he was the first prominent temperance orator to lift the reform he advocated from the level of a merely moral to that of a distinctively religious movement. The Washingtonians, among whom he first labored,

were not all friends of the churches. Undoubtedly there were faults in the attitude of some of the churches toward the reform; but Mr. Gough rarely criticised preachers, and often had his meetings opened with prayer. He was criticised for this; but his religious convictions were so powerfully expressed that he gradually passed out of the hands of infidels into those of Christians, and out of the schoolhouses into churches. (See Dr. Lyman Abbott's Introduction to Mr. Gough's "Platform Echoes.") He was always a friend of vigorous temperance laws; but in the central portion of his career, moral suasion was his great weapon. He was unceasing in his efforts to organize temperance societies and the Church in such a way as to lift the inebriate from temptation.*

Total abstinence is a closed issue. No intelligent man now, in face of the record of life assurance societies, dares recommend anything like moderate indulgence. I hold that this century has settled it that total abstinence is the only safe thing. Eighteen States of this Union are now teaching their children that total abstinence is required by the latest light of science. [Applause.] And the same number of States, also, are giving instruction against all kinds of narcotics; and let the pulpit say Amen! [Applause.]

Mr. Gough was opposed to every form of license, high or low. This is not a closed issue; for certain portions of the Church seem willing to license the gilded saloon, although not yet, thank God! willing to license its Satanic Siamese twin, the brothel. The other evening in Philadelphia, coming home from the Academy of Music, I saw the glaring windows of a whiskey hell, and above it were windows lighted far toward the sky. I asked a gentleman who walked with me, "What is up there?" He answered significantly, "You had better not ask." God helping me, I am determined to the end of my life to refuse my consent to the licensing either of the brothel or the gilded saloon! [Loud and long-continued applause.] Mr. Gough has often said he had rather be the worst seller of liquor that ever stood on two feet than be the man to license its sale.

But what else marked this man as a reformer? You will not underrate his earnestness in support of laws for the instruction of youth in the facts of science concerning intemperance. You believe he was in earnest in using the wing of moral suasion to support temperance reform; but in recent years he became one of the most radical of the friends of political prohibition. [Applause.] I do not care to say here and now, over this open grave, anything that will offend prejudices, social, religious, or political. My mood is a peaceful one; but I should be unfaithful to the memory of this great hero if I were not to say that twice lately he has voted for what is called the third party in temperance politics. [Applause.] You may think he was wrong. I am not asking you to accept his opinion. I ask you to notice it; for it was a position taken after great deliberation, undoubtedly after the most fervent prayer, and it was in some respects in opposition to

his previous inculcations. He had always been known as the champion of moral suasion. He had criticised the Maine law once, in a fair way indeed, but in such a manner as to raise up against himself opponents among its friends. But within the last three years he became so convinced that the great cities of this country can never be ruled except by stern temperance legislation, he was so much moved by the fact that seventeen States have refused to allow the people to vote on constitutional prohibition apart from every other issue, that he stood up squarely, boldly, unapologetically, and unflinchingly for a reorganization of political parties in support of constitutional prohibition, both state and national. [Applause.]

Did this position make him bitter toward the friends of moral suasion? Not at all. Was he unwilling to recognize the merit of those reformers who cannot go quite so far as he went? By no means. His heart was too large, his honesty too profound, for him to be a temperance sectarian, defending one wing, or one feather in one wing, and forgetting that the reform can fly only by equal vibrations of both vans, the legal wing and the moral wing, used together. [Applause.] Let his example shame us, if we have been fighters for a feather in either of these wings. [Applause.] Over this grave let us put away our divisions, and let us become as broad as he, and remember that right wing and left wing and the body between them are a unit.

What was the centre of the temperance forces in John Gough's estimation? No doubt it was the Church. John Gough's strength lay in the fact that he was a sincere, an intelligent, a most admirably balanced Christian. [Applause.] This man could work well in evangelistic services. He was often of great assistance to the revered Dr. Kirk in revivals. Dr. Kirk was his pastor, and Boston ought to remember, with peculiar tenderness of feeling, the fact that, to the end of his days, Mr. Gough was a member of a church yonder on Beacon Hill. Those who have lived nearest to Mr. Gough know that a family altar, with a peculiarly intense fire upon it, was the inspiration of his private and of his public life. The secret of his strength was in divine grace. With such intensity of feeling as he possessed, with such temptations from imagination and emotion and a variety of unfortunate experiences in early life and afterward, he might easily have become a public mischief, had not God caused him to be balanced by holding him in the palms of his hands. Let us recollect, therefore, that to John Gough the centre of the temperance army was the Church, the right wing the law, the left wing moral suasion; or, if you please to say so, the left wing the law, and the right wing moral suasion. He was a broad man; he meant that the whole army should act as a unit; and he found it none too strong, when employed as a single weapon, against the most terrific political and social danger of our time.

He says, in language which he published only on the 11th of February: "For two years I have voted with the third party; for I do believe in

prohibiting and annihilating the liquor traffic. I deem it to be exceedingly important, also, to work for the creation of a public sentiment against the traffic, by education and information, by training and teaching the young." (Letter dated January 30th, and published in *The Voice*, February 11th.)

There is a safe platform. There you have both wings of the army brought into action. Let all fragmentists in the temperance reform take pattern from this broad man. [Applause.] Let the United States follow John Gough, and take hope that, as we have already seen the abolition of slavery, we may some day see the abolition of the liquor traffic. John Gough was an abolitionist, and as early as 1846 told a mob to their faces, in Lynchburg, Va., that he was an abolitionist, and could not apologize for being so; that he could leave their town, but that they must vote to have him do so. They did not vote. [Laughter and applause.]

This man has given our own day and all future time an example not merely of breadth and courage, but of intensity and tenderness. His philanthropies were as countless and abundant as they were unostentatious. The central rule of his work was Christ's own method of going about from house to house doing good. How could he hold audiences ninety nights in succession in Exeter Hall? Simply because he spent his days among the poor, and told at night what he had observed in the day. How could he wear so long? Only by keeping himself close to man's heart and to God's heart. Let England follow this man! Let the isles of the sea follow him! My conviction is that in his breadth of principle — and especially in his last positions concerning legal enactments in regard to the liquor traffic — he made himself one of the Pilgrim Fathers of the twentieth century, and will be remembered with even more honor in the next generation than he possessed in this; and that, therefore, the youngest men here may take the hand of John Gough without fear of outgrowing him as a leader. [Loud applause.]

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The British Quarterly Review.

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The London Spectator.

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